



Durham E-Theses

The notions of martyrdom according to St. John Chrysostom

Christofis, Gus George

How to cite:

Christofis, Gus George (1984) *The notions of martyrdom according to St. John Chrysostom*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7219/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Abstract

The Notions of Martyrdom According To St. John Chrysostom

by

Gus George Christofis, B.A.

It is well known that the topic of martyrdom is central to early Church history. What is not, however, as well known is the theology of martyrdom, particularly as it emerged after the full harvest of the era of persecutions. This investigation represents a modest attempt towards an exposition of such a theology of martyrdom by examining its meaning in one of the most eloquent early writers on the subject, St. John Chrysostom.

By way of introduction, a brief survey of the meaning of martyrdom from its Jewish origins to the end of the third century is provided. There follows the two main parts of the thesis, the first and longest one dealing with the primary notion of martyrdom, i.e. martyrdom by death, and the second one dealing with the secondary notions of martyrdom of asceticism and virginity and of martyrdom by association. In the first part, the major and minor nuances of the meaning of martyrdom are explored whereby its connection with the Crucified and Risen Christ is established. Detailed information is provided on the results and the occasion of martyrdom, as well as on the character of the martyr's death and the disposition of his soul, including the roles of God and the devil in it. The conclusion emphasizes the centrality of the notion of martyrdom in the early Christian perception of the Christian faith.

THE NOTIONS OF MARTYRDOM ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

by

GUS GEORGE CHRISTOFIS, B.A.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

M.A. Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of Theology
Durham University

1984



22 FEB 1985



Head of St John Chrysostom, Church of St Sophia, Ochrid (11th c.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page no.</u>
PREFACE	6
INTRODUCTION	7-28
a. <u>Martyrdom before Chrysostom</u>	
b. <u>Chrysostomian Texts dealing with Martyrdom</u>	
1. Panegyric Homilies on holy Martyrs	
2. Other relevant Chrysostomian texts	
THE PRIMARY NOTION OF MARTYRDOM	
a. <u>Martyrdom by death</u>	29-39
1. Major Nuances	
i. An imitation of Christ's Baptism in death	
ii. An imitation of Christ's suffering	
iii. An imitation of Christ's sacrifice	
2. Minor Nuances	
i. An emigration into heaven	
ii. A call to a better and more spiritual life	
iii. A change from corruptibility to incorruptibility	
iv. A spiritual wedding	
b. <u>The results of martyrdom by death</u>	40-45
i. The martyr as a channel of the power of God	
ii. The martyr's intercession	
c. <u>Themes associated with martyrdom by death</u>	46-110
1. Martyrdom and humility	
2. Methods of undergoing martyrdom	
3. The martyr's death	
4. The martyr's soul	
i. The soul's disposition	
ii. The soul and love	
iii. The soul and repentance	
5. Christ's or God's role	
6. The devil's role	

d. <u>The martyr's relics</u>	111-145
1. Relics defeat the devil	
2. Benefits imparted to man	
3. The altars of Christ	

THE SECONDARY NOTIONS OF MARTYRDOM

a. <u>Martyrdom of asceticism</u>	146-169
b. <u>Martyrdom of virginity</u>	170-174
c. <u>Martyrdom by association</u>	175-184
1. Martyrdom by service	
2. Martyrdom by imitation	
3. Martyrdom by word	

CONCLUSION	185-187
------------	---------

FOOTNOTES	188-305
-----------	---------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	306-308
--------------	---------

No material contained in the thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other University.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

PREFACE

I would like first of all to express here my gratitude to my supervisor, the Very Reverend Dr. George D. Dragas, who not only suggested the topic but gave me most valuable advise both regarding the material and the method for this research. Durham University Library facilities have been superb and the whole academic environment in the Department of Theology has been most conducive for my undertaking of this research project.

The presentation of the material researched in this thesis could have been different and perhaps more coherent and reflective if I could have spent an equal amount of time in structuring and formulating the results of my research, to the amount that I spent for the research itself. The task involved was by no means an easy one, especially since most of the available sources could only be read in the original Greek or in Latin translations. Thanks to the probings of my supervisor I persevered in reading through the long Greek homilies of John Chrysostom, and thus came to appreciate the value of primary texts. This may be the reason why I have provided most of the original Greek texts in the footnotes, which made typing very painful, but has added, I believe, real value to my work. I hope that what I have written here will enhance, even to some limited extent, our knowledge of the theology of Martyrdom and of this great ecumenical theologian and Father of the Church, both from the historical and the ecclesiological perspective.

INTRODUCTION

a. Martyrdom before Chrysostom

The early Church's experience and understanding of martyrdom, directly connected with confessing faith in Christ and suffering death for His sake, finds its roots among the Jews.

As a result of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution of the Jews, three main developments emerged among the Jews which later reappeared in the context of the persecution of the Christians by the Roman State.

The first development is suffering martyrdom for the sake of one's faith. In the case of the Jews, martyrdom entailed one's giving personal witness to the truth of the Law against the pagan religions, which could and often did involve suffering and death.¹ Closely linked with the above is the second development, namely, the rise of hope in a personal resurrection (cf. Daniel 12:2)² for the martyr and in a future vengeance against the apostates and persecuting powers.³ The third and final development was the transfer of the particular local religious struggles which caused martyrdom to a cosmic level on which the persecutors were seen as representatives of the demonic powers who were under the direction of the devil himself.⁴

Amongst the most important examples of Judaic martyrs, whose martyrdom exemplifies the aforementioned



three developments, are the Maccabee youths with their mother (II Maccabees 6-8) and the scribe Eleazar. II Maccabees 6-8 records the propriety of the Maccabee family resistance to the heathen persecutors and their death which resulted thereof.⁵ Other sources revealing similar developments are the Book of Esther (130 c. B.C.)⁶ and III and IV Maccabees.⁷ Examining these Jewish accounts, scholars have reached important conclusions which are relevant to the subject of Christian martyrdom as well.

In the first instance, a witness to the Law could not deviate in the slightest from its precepts, especially if his testimony was against idolatry;⁸ therefore, he could defy the pagan ruler⁹ and face death rather than compromise his faith. In the second instance, a Jewish martyr (i.e. witness) would be regarded as an exemplar of virtue and nobility and a representative of the Jewish nation.¹⁰ The scribe Eleazar (II Macc. 6: 24-25) perfectly fits this characterization of a noble and virtuous man who preferred to die a glorious death for the holy Laws of God.¹¹ It appears that persecution for Eleazar and the Maccabee family resulted from sin committed by the Jewish people and their suffering was its expiation (II Macc. 7:32).¹² These victims were personally innocent, but they died as a vicarious sacrifice (II Macc. 7:37)¹³ in order to calm the wrath of God towards His people.¹⁴ Henceforth, reconciliation between God and His people would follow the vicarious sacrifice (II Macc. 6:12-18) of a martyr.¹⁵

In the third instance, eschatological overtones

emerge from a martyr's death inasmuch as the martyr was seen as an agent for the preparation of the Age to come.¹⁶ God's mercy towards His people (the Jews) was hastened by a martyr's sacrifice.¹⁷ Although the emphasis is constantly on the Jewish nation, the individual also benefits.¹⁸ The act of martyrdom entitled the martyr to eternal life and also demonstrated that God would punish his persecutors (II Macc. 7: 14).¹⁹ Furthermore, resurrection and immortality were promised to the martyr,²⁰ and this point is evident in the speech that the mother of the Maccabees delivered to her children:

I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I who formed the members of every one of you. But doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man and found out the beginning of all things, will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again as ye now regard not your own selves for his law's sake (II Macc. 7:22-23).²¹

In the last instance, the Maccabee family (II Macc. 7:3) and Eleazar (II Macc. 6:29) both suffered martyrdom by death out of their own free will²² - a fact which is also demonstrated in the early Christian era by the martyrs Polycarp, Justin, Pionius, and everyone who followed their example.²³ Even willingly committing suicide for the faith was justified.²⁴

The authors of the New Testament also used contemporary Jewish ideas when discussing the primary notion of martyrdom , i.e. martyrdom by death.²⁵ Suffering was an integral aspect of the early Christian's life because like the Jew, the Christian was expected to suffer and even die for the Name (i.e. for Christ)²⁶ if the situation demanded it (MT 10: 32:33).²⁷

Denial of the Name created dire consequences for the Christian, as it is noted by Hermas (c.A.D. 120?) who said that anyone who confesses Christ is considered to be blessed, while he who denies Christ renders condemnation upon himself which is to be revealed on the Day of Judgment.²⁸ Eusebius of Caesarea also mentions that whoever denies Christ and then seeks repentance, secures a martyr's crown.²⁹ However, it can also be deduced from Eusebius that to deny Christ altogether, i.e. not to seek repentance for this denial, is to blaspheme against the Holy Spirit.³⁰ Similarly, St.Luke (LK 12:10) also associates the denial of Christ in the face of adversity as "blaspheming against the Holy Spirit."³¹

Important conclusions concerning the notion of martyrdom (by death) in the early Church can also be drawn from the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The historian W.H.C. Frend³² says that for St. Stephen, "Jesus' death marked the culmination of prophetic suffering in the age-long encounter between righteousness and hardness of the heart" (Acts 7:52).³³ Being an imitator of Christ, St. Stephen prayed for his enemies to be forgiven,³⁴ and he was also allowed to see Christ's glory during the final moments of his life (Acts 7:56).³⁵ This vision of Christ assured St. Stephen (and the martyrs which followed him) that Christ conquered death and secured man's salvation.³⁶ In the light of the above, Stephen is referred to by Eusebius as "the perfect martyr" (Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς).³⁷

It is noted by the writer of Acts (6:15) that during his confession, St. Stephen's face already

became like the face of an angel.³⁸ God's glory which was reserved for the Righteous, became manifested in St. Stephen³⁹ who was under the direct guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰ Likewise, it can be seen in future years in the writings of Novatian On The Trinity (ch. 29) that it is the Holy Spirit who "...shows in the martyrs the unyielding faith of religion."^{40a}

The close examination of the usage of the word martyr in the New Testament, has divided scholars into two camps. On the one hand, there is the camp of Delehaye, Campenhausen, and Strathmann who believe that the manner in which martyrdom (and its derivatives) is used in the New Testament, is strictly from a Christian point of view, and as a result, deny any ties with Judaism.⁴¹ On the other hand, there is the camp of Fischel, Surkau, and Perler which claims that a continuity exists between the Christian and Jewish concept of martyrdom, as evident in the Acta Martyrum of the two religions.⁴²

From a strictly semantic point of view, W.H.C. Frend states, that Delehaye's school is justified in its claims.⁴³ Frend also remarks that apart from the Alexandrian manuscript of IV Maccabees 12:16,57 and Revelation 11:3 ("assuming that it is originally a Jewish source")⁴⁴, martyrdom and its derivative words are not used by Jews to depict those who died for the Torah⁴⁵ who were called 'qedoshim' which means "people set apart"⁴⁶ (the counterpart of the Christian 'saint').⁴⁷ But 'martyria' took on the significance of someone who witnessed "to the nature and work of Jahwe which led

to suffering (as in LXX Is. 43-44), and also in connection with the prophets 'witnessing against' sinful Israel and taking the consequence of their acts."⁴⁸ Thus it is concluded by Frend that 'martyria' in the Christian sense, was only in part a continuation of these Hellenic-Jewish usages.⁴⁹

Death which resulted from witnessing to the Resurrection of Christ, automatically raised the sufferer to the status of a prophet,⁵⁰ and this duty also descended upon all baptized Christians.⁵¹ This is the case since the Holy Spirit descended upon all Christians at their baptism and inspired their witness; therefore, prophecy was no longer for the select few as in Judaism.⁵²

The term "martyr" and derivatives take on their final significance, i.e. as a baptism in one's own blood or a martyrdom by death, in the Johannine literature.⁵³ Here, the Christian is bound to the Cross,⁵⁴ and for this reason, the author of the Johannine literature associates the themes of judgement and vindication of the righteous with martyrdom.⁵⁵ In other words, the author of the Johannine literature says that since Christ will come as the Supreme and Universal Judge at the end of time,⁵⁶ in the meantime, Christians should not fight against the authorities who persecute them,⁵⁷ but should be witnesses to Christ by imitating His death.⁵⁸

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation, written most probably towards the end of the first century A.D. at a time of persecutions, also contain information about the early Church's view of martyrdom.⁵⁹ In the former document, Christ's death is a vicarious sacrifice which through the resurrection

led to the overthrow of satan. Likewise, if a martyr imitates Christ's sacrifice and death, not only his sins will be forgiven,⁶⁰ but also will enter into the eternal bliss which followed His death. In view of this, Christians were specifically told to resist temptation even with their very blood in order not to sin (Heb. 12:4).⁶¹

The Book of Revelation employs the term μαρτυρία in the sense of a witness by death and the shedding of blood, which was universalized from then onwards.⁶² Also in the same book, one observes "the close association of Christian martyrdom with Apocalypticism"⁶³. This association is further strengthened by the author's statement that the martyrs will participate as Judges in the Last Judgement, and cast the evil idolaters into the lake of brimstone, i.e. into second death (Rev. 21:18).⁶⁴ Thus in the Book of Revelation, the themes of suffering, witness, judgement, and final triumph are all interwoven with the single concept of martyrdom.⁶⁵

Moving forward to the second century of the Christian era, the meaning and significance of martyrdom in the Church becomes even clearer. The account concerning the Martyrs of Lyons in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius adds valuable insight into the early Church's view of martyrdom.^{65a}

Three times Eusebius makes reference to the martyrs at Lyons as a "class or group set apart" (τὸν κλήρον μαρτύρων - κλήρω τῶν μαρτύρων - μαρτύρων κλήρω). In these references, κλήρος is not understood in its normal

sense of 'inheritance',^{65b} but in the particular sense which the term has in the context of Judaism, i.e. the sense which refers to the election (κληρονομία) of the entire nation of the Jews by God.⁶⁶ It seems that both, Jews and the martyrs of Lyons, constituted a class of people chosen and consecrated for God's service (Deut. 9:29, LXX),⁶⁷ which entailed certain responsibilities and privileges, but also certain dangers,⁶⁸ which could eventually cause death.

Further documentation by Eusebius of Caesarea reveals that the author of the martyrdoms at Lyons classified the martyred Christians either as protomartyrs (πρωτομάρτυρες) who were ready for immediate combat, or as unprepared / untrained martyrs (ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι), who were not yet ready for battle.^{68a} Eusebius' documentation also shows that the martyrs themselves used a much stricter standard of labelling someone as a martyr. When they were alive, theirs was a confession of witness as it is evident in the following significant quotation from Eusebius:

But if everyone of us called them martyrs either in a letter or in speech, they rebuked him sharply. For they gladly conceded the title of martyrdom to Christ, the faithful and true martyr and the first born from the dead and the author of the life of God. And they reminded us of the martyrs who had already passed away, and said 'they are already martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to be taken up at their confession, and sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.' And they besought the brethren with tears, begging that earnest prayers might be made for their consecration. The power of martyrdom they actually showed, having great boldness towards the heathen, and they made plain their nobleness by endurance and absence of fear or timidity; but the title of martyr they refused from the brethren, for they were filled with the fear of God. 69

In the early part of the second century (A.D. 177) as is evident from Eusebius' account, the crown of martyrdom was desirable to all Christians in meekness and not in arrogance.^{69a} The martyr was a "true disciple of Christ" who followed Him even unto death.⁷⁰ For to join Christ through martyrdom by death, qualified the martyr for eternal fellowship with the living God.⁷¹

A general survey of scholarly opinion shows that the various martyrdom accounts (such as the previous one on the martyrs of Lyons) which were written by early Christians can be placed into three broad categories: 1) Official proceedings (questions / answers by authorities and martyrs, respectively), 2) Reports of eye-witnesses, and especially those called passiones or martyria, and 3) Legends of the martyrs (for the future edification of people concerning the early martyrdoms of Christians).⁷²

The first category comprise the following:
The Acts of St. Justin and His Companions,⁷³ The Acts of The Martyrs of Scilli in Africa,⁷⁴ and the Proconsular Acts of St. Cyprian.⁷⁵ In the second category one may place: The Martyrdom of Polycarp,⁷⁶ The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna,⁷⁷ The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas,⁷⁸ The Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice,⁷⁹ and The Acts of Apollonius.⁸⁰ The

third category comprises: the Acts of the martyrs St. Agnes, St. Celicia, St. Felicitas, and her seven sons, the Acts of Roman Martyrs - Hippolytus, Lawrence, Sixtus, Sebastian, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, the Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, the martyrdom of St. Clement,⁸¹ and also Eusebius' account of the Martyrs of Palestine.⁸²

In addition to specific accounts of martyrdom, there are several early Christian documents of a general character which also provide useful information concerning Christian martyrdom. For example, Book V, section I of the Constitutions of The Holy Apostles explains the purpose of martyrdom:

... for he that is condemned for the Name of the Lord is an holy martyr, a brother of the Lord, the son of the Highest, a receptacle of the Holy Spirit, by whom everyone of the faithful has received the illumination of the glory of the holy Gospel, by being vouchsafed the incorruptible crown, and the testimony of Christ's sufferings, and the fellowship of His blood, to be made conformable to the death of Christ for the adoption of children. ⁸³

The Didascalia Apostolorum (syriaca) exhorts bishops and all Christian believers to help Christian prisoners (ch. 19)⁸⁴ and explains that there is no excuse for anyone denying martyrdom, since Christ assured everyone of the Resurrection.⁸⁵ Similar remarks are made by the author of the Shepherd of Hermas, in the opera supererogatoria.^{85a}

Martyrdom accounts are also contained in the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. The oldest (A.D. 155-156)^{85b} and most authentic of these, is that of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna,⁸⁶ which presents particular interest since it deals with a martyr's death, his relics and the conditions and agents behind martyrdom.

St. Polycarp's death suggests that after Christ's Resurrection, death is a vehicle through which Christ demonstrates His Gospel to mankind (ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον)⁸⁷ and that a martyr's death is in every manner consistent with Christ's Gospel (κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενομένον),⁸⁸ as constituting exact imitation of Christ's Martyrdom upon the Cross. Polycarp's death was blessed by Christ⁸⁹ because it took place according to the will of God,⁹⁰ and thus, "St. Polycarp was crowned with the wreath of immortality",^{90a} and was registered among the angels.⁹¹ In the last analysis, a martyr's day of death is really his "birth-day" because it marks the beginning of his eternal abode with the Lord and His Saints; furthermore, a martyr offers himself to God as a whole-burnt offering (ὁλοκαύτωμα),⁹³ and begins a new life in heaven. Le

As regards St. Polycarp's relics, it is said that his flesh is "holy" (ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ)⁹⁴, his bones more precious than the most beautiful of all jewels and more purified (or more tried) than gold,⁹⁵ and his whole skin was greatly adorned even before his death.⁹⁶

Regarding the conditions for true martyrdom and the agents active in it, it is said in the De Martyrio S. Polycarpi, a) that a true martyr does not give himself up voluntarily without being sought,⁹⁷ and, b) that the devil is the chief architect of martyrdom, although God is the Martyr's constant companion and protector.⁹⁸ This last point is particularly demonstrated in St. Polycarp's martyrdom when God's voice was heard from

heaven strengthening his saint to endure and confess the Name of Christ.⁹⁹ It is evident in the following¹⁰⁰ quotation that the blessed Polycarp and those like him received protection by God against the devil and his machinations:

But they (i.e. the martyrs) reached such a pitch of magnanimity, that not one of them let a sigh or a groan escape them; thus proving to us all that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very time when they suffered such torments, were absent from the body, or rather, that the Lord then stood by them, and communed with them. And, looking to the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of this world, redeeming themselves from eternal punishment by (by suffering of) a single hour. For this reason, the fire of their savage executioners appeared cool to them. For they kept before their view the escape from that fire which is eternal and never shall be quenched, and looked forward with the eyes of their heart to those good things which are laid up for such as endure things "which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man" (I Cor. 2:9).¹⁰¹

The authors of the Martyrium De Sanctis Hieromartyre Ignatii further elucidate how martyrdom was viewed by the early Church.¹⁰² In this instance, it is said that through his martyrdom a martyr attains to a true love for Christ, the perfect rank of a disciple¹⁰³, and a yet more intimate relation with the Lord.¹⁰⁴ St. Ignatius, for example, prayed for an opportunity to suffer martyrdom for Christ, because it was the object of his desire,¹⁰⁵ a means of showing perfect love towards Christ,¹⁰⁶ a good confession securing for him an abode in heaven,¹⁰⁷ and a crown of victory.¹⁰⁸ With his martyrdom, St. Ignatius' soul was taken into heaven while his holy relics¹⁰⁹ remained on earth to guide man towards salvation. His relics are "an inestimable treasure of grace left to the holy Church (of Antioch) by the saint

himself".¹¹⁰ The last chapter of this martyrium, stresses the role of intercessor between man and God which St. Ignatius assumed by virtue of his death, a point clearly attested to by many witnesses.¹¹¹

Among the early and numerous accounts of martyrdom, there is also that which is connected with the Christian Apologist Justin and his companions Chariton, Charito, Evelpistus, Hierax, Paeon, Liberian, and their Community (Μαρτύριον τῶν Ἀγίων Ἰουστίνου, Χαρίτωνος, Χαριτοῦς, Εὐελπίστου, Ἱεράκος, Παίωνος, Λιβεριανουῦ, καὶ τῆς Συνοδίας αὐτῶν; c.A.D. 165)¹¹², which stresses the point that their testimonies were perfected with their martyrdom.¹¹³

By the second half of the second century A.D. and the beginning of the third, Christian authors dealt more and more extensively with the meaning, significance, and glory of martyrdom. Titus Flavius Clemens (A.D. 150-215)¹¹⁴ understood martyrdom for Christ's sake to be "a perfection" because it demonstrates the perfect works of love¹¹⁵ and "a gate of death which leads into the beginning of the true life".¹¹⁶

Origen (d. A.D. 253),¹¹⁷ who wrote a very important treatise on Martyrdom (Exhortatio Ad Martyrium) stresses that martyrdom is "heavenly" (οὐράνιον μαρτύριον),¹¹⁸ "an equal balance offered in return for the benefits which a man receives from God"¹¹⁹ and the "cup of salvation" as it is pointed out in the Gospels.¹²⁰ Origen reminds us that he who drinks from the cup of Jesus, will sit with Him and rule and judge with Him in His Kingdom.¹²¹ Furthermore, he regards

martyrdom as a "baptism in blood" (MK 10:38; LK 12:50) having expiatory powers ¹²² to cleanse both, a martyr's sins and the sins of others, just as Christ's blood cleansed the entire world.¹²³ For Origen, "the souls of those who have been beheaded for their witness to Jesus (Rev. 20:4,6:9) do not serve the heavenly altar in vain, since they minister forgiveness to those who pray".¹²⁴ Through a martyrdom by death, a martyr becomes both priest and sacrifice as he offers himself to Christ, his High Priest.¹²⁵ By his death, a martyr glorifies Christ as Christ glorified God with His own death.¹²⁶ In his Comment. In Joan. Tomus VI, Origen places martyrdom and its power on a cosmic level inasmuch as he who suffers martyrdom defeats the devil and the demons. To this effect, Origen states:

Evil powers suffer defeat by the death of the holy martyrs; as if their patience, their confession, even unto death, and their zeal for piety blunted the edge of the onset of evil powers against the sufferer, and their might being thus dulled and exhausted, many others of those whom they had conquered raised their heads and were set free from the weight with which the evil powers formerly oppressed and injured them. And even the martyrs themselves are no longer involved in suffering even though those agents which formerly wrought ill to others are not exhausted; for he who has offered such a sacrifice overcomes the power which opposed him. ¹²⁷

It is also important to point out that Origen distinguishes between an outward martyrdom of body and an inward martyrdom of conscience (or soul) and suggests that one becomes a martyr at the moment his soul (will and mind) decides to die for Christ.¹²⁸ According to Daniélou, Origen generally understands martyrdom as a sign of the defeat of the evil powers,¹²⁹

or as that which brings into the present the Resurrection as a living reality¹³⁰ or the works of redemption.¹³¹

In his Liber Ad Martyres, Tertullian, another remarkable early Christian author who extensively dealt with martyrdom, states that martyrdom by death is not an indifferent acceptance of suffering for Christ, but is the most difficult of tests for strength of faith.¹³² In his Liber De Anima, where Tertullian demonstrates the saving power of martyrdom, he states that at their death, the martyrs are allowed immediate entrance into heaven, whereas all other spirits are kept in hades awaiting for the final resurrection.¹³³ In other words, "the sole key to unlock Paradise is one's life blood" (tota paradisi clavus tuus sanguis est).¹³⁴ Likewise, he also mentions that the angel's fiery sword, which guards the entrance to paradise, permits no one to enter, except for the ones who died for Jesus Christ and not in Adam (Quomodo Perpetua fortissima martyr, sub die passionis, in revelatione paradisi, solos illic commartyres suos vidit, nisi quia nullis romphaea paradise Janitrix cedit, nisi qui in Christo decesserint, non in Adam).¹³⁵

We must not close this chapter without mentioning at least one other early Christian author who dealt extensively with martyrdom. This is Cyprian of Carthage,¹³⁶ whose teaching deserves special attention and particularly his works: Ad Nemesianum Et Caeteros Martyres in Metallo Constitutos, Ad Fortunatum De Martyrio, Nemesiani, Dativi, Felicis Et Victoris Responsum Ad Cyprianum, Ad Clerum Et Plebem, De Suo Secessu,

Paulo Ante Passionem; Ad Thibaritanos, De Exhortatione
Martyrii; Ad Martyres Et Confessors; Liber De Laude
Martyrii.

Cyprian regards martyrdom as a second baptism, in which the martyr is bathed in his own blood.¹³⁷ In contrast to an ordinary baptism in water, this baptism has greater grace, power, and honour.¹³⁸ It is a baptism in which angels baptize whilst God and His Christ exhalt, and after which no sin is committed.¹³⁹ Furthermore, this baptism demonstrates the completion of a martyr's faith, and allows his immediate departure from the world and association with God.¹⁴⁰ "In the baptism of water one receives the remission of sins, while in the baptism of blood, one attains the crown of virtues."¹⁴¹ It is also said that heaven lies open to a martyr's blood, since the dwelling-place of Gehenna gives way to it. Indeed, above all glory, the title of blood is sealed as the fairest, and its crown is designated as the most complete.¹⁴² This completeness exists because the martyrs' sins are:

washed in their gore by His blood; and so being slain they might live again, who when alive were counted as slain. Death assuredly makes life more complete, death finds the glory that was lost. For in this, the hope once lost is regained, in this all salvation is restored. ¹⁴³

Cyprian also understands martyrdom as an imitation of Christ's suffering upon the Cross. He says that Christ suffered and was crucified in order to teach man to follow His example.¹⁴⁴ When one imitates Christ's suffering, he offers to Him:

an uncorrupted faith, and an unyielding virtue of mind, an illustrious praise of devotion; to accompany Him when He shall come to receive vengeance from His enemies, to stand at His side when He shall sit to judge, to become co-heir of Christ, to be made equal to the angels; with the patriarchs, with the apostles, with the prophets, to rejoice in the possession of the heavenly kingdom! 145

Elsewhere, he states that to suffer martyrdom shows desire to live with Christ and imitate that which Christ both taught and did (JN 2:6; Rom. 8:16,17)¹⁴⁶

Martyrdom as a warfare and lofty, great, and glorious contest that grants the martyr a heavenly crown, is yet another nuance of meaning in Cyprian's^N teaching.¹⁴⁷ It is suggested that God, Christ, and the angels always look upon the martyrs who are engaged in battle against satan, and that those among them who emerge victorious from this battle, are crowned and have Christ as their Judge.¹⁴⁸ The following extract from St. Cyprian's De Laude Martyrii is an excellent summary of his views on martyrdom:

... the end of sins, the limit of dangers, the guide of salvation, the teacher of patience, the home of life, on the journey to which those things moreover befall which in the coming crisis might be considered torments. By this testimony is also borne to the Name, and the majesty of the Name is greatly enhanced: not that the majesty can be diminished in itself, or its magnitude detracted from by the guilt of one who denies it; but that it rebounds to the increase of its glory, when the terror of the populace that howls around is giving to suffering, fearless minds, and by the threats of snarling hatred is adding to the title whereby Christ has desired to crown the man, that in proportion as he has thought that he conquered, in that proportion his courage has grown in the struggle. It is then, therefore, that all the vigour of faith is brought to bear, then facility of belief is approved when you encounter the speeches and the reproaches of the rabble, and when you strengthen yourself by a religious mind against the madness of the people - overcoming that is, and repelling whatever

their blasphemous speech may have uttered to wrong Christ in your person, as when the resisting breakwater repels the adverse sea, although the waves dash and the rolling water again beats upon it, yet its immovable strength abides firm, and does not yield even when covered over by the waves that foam around, until its force is scattered over the rocks and loses itself, and the conquered billow lying upon the rocks retires forth into the open spaces of the shore. 149

In the fourth and subsequent centuries, although martyrdom had ceased to be a common occurrence, following the end of State persecution of Christians and the rise of Christianity as the religion of the State, Christian authors hardly failed to make mention of it in their writings. Indeed it appears that the subject continued to fascinate the Church and its theologians, particularly as a cult of saints was developed centered around feasts of Martyrs established in the yearly cycle of Church feasts during which important sermons were preached. As examples we can mention St. Basil the Great's Homilies 5, 17, 18, 19, and 23 (In Martyrem Julittam, In Barlaam Martyrem, In Gordium Martyrem, In sanctos quadraginta martyres, In sanctum martyrem Mamantem),¹⁵⁰ or St. Gregory of Nyssa's Sermons on St. Stephen,¹⁵¹ Praise of Theodore the Martyr,¹⁵² and Sermons on the Forty Martyrs.¹⁵³ However, if there is a Church writer who deserves to be regarded as the best author on Martyrs who ^{came} close to developing a full doctrine of martyrdom this is St. John Chrysostom, who ended His life as a Martyr. This becomes apparent from even a brief account of his works which deal with martyrdom.

b. Chrysostomian Texts dealing with Martyrdom

There are two kinds of Chrysostomian texts dealing with Martyrdom. First, there are those which explicitly deal with this topic and which comprise a good number of his panegyrical homilies. Second there are those dealing indirectly with the subject and consisting of occasional references made to martyrdom in St. John Chrysostom's numerous works. Here we shall simply list both kinds of texts presenting at the same time some basic information about those belonging to the former kind by means of footnotes. The section following this listing will represent the result of our systematic investigation of the notions of martyrdom in all the above mentioned Chrysostomian texts.

1. Panegyrical Homilies on holy Martyrs

De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homiliae I-VII⁽¹⁾, PG 50, col. 473-514.

De Sancta Thecla⁽²⁾, PG 50, col. 745-748.

In S. Ignatium Martyrem⁽³⁾, PG 50, col. 587-596.

De S. Hieromartyre Babyla⁽⁴⁾, PG 50, col. 527-534 and
De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 533-572.

De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre, Homilia I⁽⁵⁾, PG 50, col. 579-584.

In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres⁽⁶⁾, PG 50, col. 571-^{Maximinus} 578.

In S. Lucianum Martyrem⁽⁷⁾, PG 50, col. 519-526.

De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce⁽⁸⁾, PG 50, col. 629-640.

In S. Romanum Martyrem I⁽⁹⁾, PG 50, col. 605-612 and
In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 611-618.

In S. Eustathium Antiochenum⁽¹⁰⁾, PG 50, col. 597-606.

Homilia In Martyres⁽¹¹⁾, PG 50, col. 661-666 and Sanctis
 Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col. 645-654.

In S. Julianum Martyrem⁽¹²⁾, PG 50, col. 665-676.

De S. Droside Martyre⁽¹³⁾, PG 50, col. 683-694.

In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 693-698.

De S. Meletio Antiocheno⁽¹⁴⁾, PG 50, col. 515-520.

In Diodorum Tarsenum⁽¹⁵⁾, PG 52, col. 761-766.

De Sanctis Martyribus⁽¹⁶⁾, PG 50, col. 705-712.

In S. Barlaamum Martyrem⁽¹⁷⁾, PG 50, col. 675-682.

In S. Phocam Martyrem⁽¹⁸⁾, PG 50, col. 699-706.

De Maccabaeis, Homiliae I-III⁽¹⁹⁾, PG 50, col. 617-628.

De Eleazaro et septem pueris, Homilia XI, PG 63, col. 523-530.

ii. Other relevant Chrysostomian texts

De Petitione Filiorum Zebedae, Contra Anomoeans, VIII,
 PG 48, col. 767-778.

II Homilia, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrum, etc.,
 PG 63, col. 467-472.

III Homilia, Dicta Praesente Imperatore, PG 63, col. 473-478.

In Illud., Vidi Dominum, Homil. IV, PG 56, col. 120-129.

In Illud. Vidi Dominum, Homil. III, PG 56, col. 112-119.

In Isaiam, Cap. I, PG 56, col. 18-27.

In Matthaeum Homil. XXXVII al. XXXVIII, PG 57, col. 419-428.

I Homilia, Quod. Frequenter Conveniendum Sit, PG 63, col. 461-468.

Ad Theodorum Lapsum I and Ad Theodorum Lapsum II, PG 47, 277-316.

Adversus Judaeos IV-VIII, PG 48, col. 871-942.

Ad Eos Qui Scandalizat. Sunt. Lib. Unus, PG 52, col. 479-528.

De Anna Sermo III, PG 54, col. 652-660.

De Anna Sermo V, PG 54, col. 669-676.

In Cap. I Genes. Homilia IX, PG 53, col. 76-81.

Expositio In Psalmum CX, PG 55, col. 279-290.

Expositio In Psalmum CXXVII, PG 55, col. 366-371.

Expositio In Psalmum XLIX, PG 55, col. 240-258.

Expositio In Psalmum CXXI, PG 55, col. 347-351.

Expositio In Psalmum CXL, PG 55, col. 426-442.

Expositio In Psalmum CXV, PG 55, col. 319-327.

Expositio In Psalmum CXVII, PG 55, col. 328-338.

Expositio In Psalmum CVIII, PG 55, col. 258-264.

Expositio In Psalmum CL, PG 55, col. 495-498.

In Matthaeum Homil. XVI, PG 57, col. 237-254.

In Joannem Homil. LXXIV al. LXXIII, PG 59, col. 399-404.

In Joannem Homil. LXXXII al. LXXXI, PG 59, col. 441-448.

In Acta Apostolorum, Homil. XXI, XXXIII, XXIV, PG 60, col. 13-384.

In Epist. I Ad Cor. Homil. IV, PG 61, col. 29-40.

In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homil. XXVI, PG 61, col. 575-584.

In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homil. I, PG 61 col. 381-392.

In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homil. V, PG 61, col. 427-436.

In Epist. Ad Coloss. Cap. III Homil. VIII, PG 62, col. 352-360.

In Epist. I Ad Thessal. Cap. V, Homil. XI, PG 62, col. 461-468.

In Epist. Ad Hebraeos Cap. VI, Homil. XI, PG 63, col. 89-96.

In Ascensionem D.N. Jesu Christi, PG 50, col. 441-452.

In SS. Petrum Et Heliam, PG 50, col. 725-736.

Contra Judaeos Et Gentiles, Quod Christus Sit Deus, PG 48, col. 811-838.

In Cap. XII Genes. Homil. XLVII, PG 54, col. 428-434.

De Ferendis Reprehens. Et De Mutat. Nominum III, PG 51, col. 132-144.

De Gloria In Tribulationibus, PG 51 col. 155-164.

In Asensionem D.N.J.C. Et In Princip. Act II, PG 52, col. 773-792.

Expositio In Psalmum IV, PG 55, col. 39-60.

Ad Populum Antiochenum Homil. VIII, PG 49, col. 97-102.

Note:

There is no English translation of the above texts except for Chrysostom's commentaries on the Gospels of John and Matthew, the Pauline Epistles, the homilies on St. Ignatius and on St. Babylas the Hieromartyr, and two treatises on the Lapse of Theodore, all of which are found in the series of The Nicene-Post Nicene Fathers.

THE PRIMARY NOTION OF MARTYRDOM

a. Martyrdom by death

The primary notion of martyrdom in Saint John Chrysostom's writings seems to be the traditional one, i.e. martyrdom by death. This notion is evident throughout Chrysostom's panegyrical homilies and it is also found in certain other of his writings. The meaning which Chrysostom attaches to this notion is very rich and one can distinguish a number of major and minor nuances depending on how often they appear in his exposition of the subject. In the first instance, the martyr's death is to be understood as an imitation of Christ's baptism in blood, suffering, and sacrifice. However, it is also to be understood as an emigration to heaven in order to be near Christ, a call to a better and to a more spiritual life, an exchange of corruptibility ^{for} with incorruptibility, and a spiritual wedding between the martyr and Christ. The forementioned nuances of meaning will be the object of our investigation in the following chapter.

1. Major nuances

i. An imitation of Christ's Baptism in death

The first nuance of meaning which Chrysostom attaches to a martyrdom by death is that of Baptism. This Baptism is not like the Baptism of John, since the one who is baptized is not bathed in water. It is an imitation of Christ's Baptism in death, since the one who is martyred

is bathed in his / her own blood. Specific mention of it occurs in the homilies: In S. Lucianum Martyrem, De SS Bernice Et Prosdoce, In S. Drosida Martyre, and De Maccabaeis, Homilia II. In these homilies, the redemptive effect of martyrdom by death is particularly stressed.

In the first instance, the homily on St. Lucian describes martyrdom by death as a second baptism, for in it the Holy Spirit is at work as in the baptism by water. Chrysostom states that this baptism destroys the martyr's sins, and it also cleanses his soul in a wonderful and marvellous manner.¹ It is a baptism because St. Lucian is bathed in his own blood.²

In the second instance, the homily on Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce speaks of the death of these martyrs as a "new and marvellous baptism" (βάπτισμα καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον).³ Chrysostom explains this by pointing out that whereas baptism in water allows participants to share in likeness (τῷ ὁμοιωματι) of Christ's death (Rom. 6:5), the baptism by death permits them to be conformed (συμμορφούμεθα) to the very death of Christ.⁵ In other words, there is here the suggestion that the martyr's death is somehow identical with the death of Christ. This is strikingly brought out in the way in which Chrysostom compares St. James' beheading and Bernice's and Prosdoce's drowning to Christ's crucifixion. He states:

For just as James was baptized in the baptism of Christ by not being crucified, but by being beheaded by a knife, likewise these two (Bernice and Prosdoce) were baptized in the Baptism of Christ, even though they were not crucified but received their perfection through drowning. These latter were baptized by their mother

Domnina. What do you say? Does a woman baptize? Yes, such baptisms are administered by women also, just as this one did and became a priestess; and she brought forth rational victims, and her disposition became her ordination (to the priesthood); and the wonderful thing was that in sacrificing, she did not need an altar, nor wood, nor fire, nor knife; for the river became all of these - i.e. altar, wood, knife, fire, sacrifice, and baptism, which is much more obvious that (the normal) baptism. 6

The third specific mention of a martyrdom by death which is regarded as baptism, is located in the homily on St. Drosida. Here Chrysostom states that Christ Himself officiates over this baptism. He says that when she was cast into the furnace, it seemed that Christ, with an "invisible hand... baptized St. Drosida in the fire as if the fire was water" (καθάπερ ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίζοντος αὐτὴν τῷ πυρὶ).⁷

The fourth and final instance in which St. John Chrysostom expounds on martyrdom by death as a baptism, is in the De Maccabaeis, Homilia II. Here the youngest of the Maccabee youths is recorded by Chrysostom to have willingly jumped into a cauldron, as if it was a fountain of refreshing water which served as a divine bath and baptism (λουτρόν θεῖον καὶ βάπτισμα).⁸ In the mind of Chrysostom, this act of martyrdom was a splendid spectacle, because the multitude of angels and the youth's own brothers (which were in heaven) witnessed his crowning like an athlete in the Olympic Games.⁹

ii. An imitation of Christ's suffering

Closely connected with the previous notion of martyrdom as an imitation of Christ's Baptism is the notion of imitating Christ's suffering. To be baptized into the

Baptism of Christ, a martyr had to suffer many labours and hardships. In the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VII, Chrysostom marvels at all the things that Paul suffered for Christ, and at the glory that he was made worthy of receiving. Paul is seen as the prototype martyr, because he imitated Christ in his manner of life, which ultimately lead to suffering and death. Chrysostom selectively recounts several passages in the Apostle's Epistles which entreat others to imitate Paul's imitation of the suffering Christ (Philip. 3:17, 4:9, I:29; I Cor. 11:1).¹⁰ Truly, Chrysostom says, Paul imitated Christ¹¹ for he carried before him the Cross of the heavenly Christ as his banner. The Apostle and martyr was guided and protected by angels who honoured the Cross, the Symbol of victory.¹²

According to Chrysostom, all martyrs wanted to imitate Christ through suffering because they believed that, by becoming participants in Christ's suffering, they would also share in His comfort (ὡς περ κοινωνοὶ ἐστέ τῶν παθημάτων οὕτω καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως).¹³ This notion is clearly expressed in the De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo where Chrysostom states, that suffering for Christ's sake grants the martyr everlasting rest (Ἀλλ' ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ, ἣ δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀνεσις ἐν τοῖς ἀθανάτοις αἰῶσι).¹⁴ It is also pointed out here, that suffering is not so unbearable for those who look forward to the future life and pay full attention to Christ who grants the contest (μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ φορτικαὶ αἱ βάσανοι τοῖς εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα βλέπουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγνοθέτην κεχηνόσιν).¹⁵

St. Stephen the Protomartyr is regarded by Chrysostom

a most eloquent example of all those who imitated Christ's suffering and death. As St. Stephen looked towards the Lord with the eyes of faith (Χριστόν ὥρα τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμοῖς) and thus faced martyrdom, likewise, all other martyrs fixed their gaze on the Lord and therefore, did not count the sufferings and punishments that befell them. "Instead of considering their sufferings and labours as something unbearable, they counted the comfort, awards, and crowns that were awaiting them".¹⁶ Thus throughout their suffering, it appeared as "if they were laying in a bed of roses" (οἱ δὲ ἅγιοι καθάπερ ἐπὶ ῥόδῳ κείμενοι).^{16a}

In the homily In S. Julianum Martyrem, the notion of suffering for the sake of Christ is again discussed and further elucidated. Martyrs do not count the cost of their sufferings, but endure them with incredible bravery because they are imbued with the hope of the future which alleviates the present pain. This is the point, says Chrysostom, which Paul also makes when he writes to the Corinthians:

For our light affliction, which is for the moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of glory. While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal (II Cor. 4:17-18). 17

iii. An imitation of Christ's Sacrifice

A third notion which is closely connected with the previous notions of martyrdom as baptism in blood and suffering, is the notion of imitating Christ's Sacrifice. For, as Chrysostom teaches, whoever confesses the Name of

Christ unto death, imitates Christ's Sacrifice upon the Cross and becomes a recipient of eternal life. In the following paragraphs, we shall discuss the above notion by examining some pertinent Chrysostomian texts.

In the first place, a martyr's death is an imitation of Christ's Sacrifice upon the Cross. This nuance appears in several of Chrysostom's writings. In the panegyrical homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem, St. John states that the martyrs offered themselves as sacrifices unto the true God. They preferred to follow Him to Golgotha instead of denying Him for the sake of showing allegiance to pagan deities. In the last analysis, their imitation of Christ's Sacrifice shows that they were delivered from the deception and religion of the idolaters. Their sacrifice also proves that they followed the way of true piety, for it stood as a demonstration of their recognition of the true God and of worshipping His Only-Begotten Son (τῆς πλάνης ἀπαλλαγέντες, πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβειαν ἑδραμον, ὅτι τὸν ἀληθινόν θεὸν ἐπέγνωσαν, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ προσεκύνησαν).¹⁸

The notion of martyrdom as being an imitation of Christ's sacrifice is also evident in the writing Adversus Judaeos VII. In this instance, St. John explains that the martyrs imitated "the Body of Christ, the common sacrifice which was offered for the entire ecumene".¹⁹ In order to clarify the manner in which the martyrs imitated Christ's sacrifice, he explains the efficacy of Christ's Crucifixion upon the Cross, and concludes with the statement that the Son of God prepared the course of piety - i.e. the road of martyrdom - and made it possible for others to follow. Christ's sacrifice

"cleansed man's soul, dissolved his sin, extinguished death, opened the heavens, revealed many and great hopes, and changed the shape of all things" (τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἔξεκάθηρε, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας κατέλυσε, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἔσβεσε, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνέωξε, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας ὑπέδειξε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατεσκεύασεν).²⁰

Furthermore, he suggests that the martyrs' death is an exact imitation of Christ's sacrifice, and also possesses expiatory and salvific powers. Their souls are cleansed from sin and are allowed immediate entrance into heaven, thus acquiring boldness and expiatory power.

The martyrs, says Chrysostom, imitated Christ's sacrifice without any reservation whenever the situation demanded it. No obstacle impeded them,²¹ since they "blossomed forth" (ἐβλάστανεν; figuratively meaning imitated) from Christ, the vine and unconquerable root. The illustration of the vine is reminiscent of Christ's statement:

I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit; for apart from me ye can do nothing (JN 15:5).²²

Likewise, as these branches (i.e. martyrs) were 'cut off' (ἐξετηθήθη; in this instance figuratively meaning sacrificed), others blossomed to replace them (Διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα πλείονα ἐξέτεμνον κλήματα, τοσούτω καὶ πλείονα καὶ μείζονα πάλιν ἐβλάστανεν).²³ As an example,

Chrysostom mentions St. Stephen the Protomartyr who first imitated Christ's sacrifice; and he also refers to St. Paul who followed on doing the same, and to many more Christians who believed through Paul (Ἐξετηθήθη γοῦν Στεφάνος, καὶ ἀνεβλάστησε Παῦλος καὶ οἱ διὰ Παύλου πιστεύσαντες)²⁴, and imitated Christ's sacrifice.

2. Minor nuances

Within the Chrysostomian corpus, there are also several minor nuances of meaning of the primary notion of martyrdom, i.e. a martyrdom by death. In this instance, a martyrdom by death can be understood as a means of emmigration to heaven in order to be near Christ, as a call to a better and to a more spiritual life, as a means of changing corruptibility with incorruptibility, and as a spiritual wedding between the martyr and Christ.

These minor nuances of martyrdom are closely inter-related with the major nuances of the word which were discussed in the previous section. For in order to emigrate into heaven, to change corruptibility with incorruptibility and to share in a spiritual wedding with Christ, one must imitate Christ in His Baptism, Suffering, and Sacrifice upon the Cross.

i. An Emigration into heaven

According to St. John Chrysostom, for the faithful Christians, martyrdom is not death, but an "emigration, or a trip, or an elevation to heaven" (ὅτι οὐ θάνατος ἦν ἐφ' ὃν ἐτρεχεν, ἀλλ' ἀποδημία τις καὶ μετάστασις, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασις).²⁵ For example, in the case of St. Ignatius the Theophorus, St. John says that the ferocious beasts assisted him to enter the Kingdom of God (τὰ δὲ τούτων στόματα πρὸς βασιλείαν παρέπεμπεν).²⁶ He also makes the general comment that the inhabitants of Rome were assured with proof that the martyrs would not have despised the present life with such joy, had they

not totally believed that they would be elevated near to the Crucified Christ, and see Him in the heavens (τοῦτο δὲ ἵνα τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν παράσχωνται τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, πείσαντες τοὺς τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκούντας ὡς οὐκ ἂν μετὰ τοσαύτης ἡδονῆς παρούσης κατεφρόνησας ζωῆς, εἰ μὴ σφοδρὰ ἦσαν πεπεικότες ἑαυτοὺς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἐμελλον ἀναβαίνειν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς αὐτὸν ὀψεσθαι).^{26a} This particular

theme is also evident in the Homilia In Martyres which explains that martyrs were "torn apart, sprinkled with blood, decorated with a multitude of wounds, denied the present life, and were in effect flying towards the future" (ἀνθρώπους ξεομένους, αἵματι περρεομένους, τραυμάτων χορῶ καλλωπιζομένους, τὴν παρούσαν ἀποδυσσάμενους ζωὴν, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἵπταμένους).²⁷

To illustrate this point further, Chrysostom made a comparison between the noetic ladder (κλίμακος νοητῆς) which Patriarch Jacob saw spanning from the earth to heaven, and the iron ladder (κλίμακα σιδηρᾶν) upon which the holy martyrs were tortured. On the former, he said angels were descending; and on the latter, he mentioned that martyrs were ascending into heaven while Christ secured both of them. He mentioned that angels were sent down the ladder to aid those seeking salvation (i.e. martyrs), while these athletes of piety used the iron ladder as a means to ascend and be near Christ who granted the contests.^{27a} Punishments precipitated death which was a means of translation from earth to the heavenly kingdom. The heroes of Christ became supreme conquerors:

For the weapons of (their) warfare are not of

the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds. Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (II Cor. 10:4-5). 27b

ii. A call to a better and more spiritual life

In Chrysostom's mind martyrdom is also to be understood as a call to a better and more spiritual life, and an excellent example of this is the case of St.

Ignatius. Not only he did not consider his martyrdom as a loss of life, but also thought of it as a call to a

better and more spiritual life (οὐ γὰρ ὡς ζωῆς ἀπορρηγνύσθαι μέλλων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ζωὴν καλούμενος βελτίω καὶ πνευματικωτέραν).²⁸

In one of the many instances where he cites St. Paul's Epistles as proof texts, Chrysostom concludes (from Romans 8:35 and II Corinthians 4:17-18) that the sorrow of this life prepares a martyr for eternal glory.²⁹

iii. A change from corruptibility to incorruptibility

Martyrdom is also to be understood as a means of changing corruptibility into incorruptibility. Chrysostom believes that a Christian who suffers martyrdom ascends into heaven, thereby discarding his fleshy garment which is corruptible and being clothed by Christ with the dress of incorruptibility and immortality. This belief is mentioned by Chrysostom only once and in the context of a discussion of the martyrdom of St. Pelagia. He briefly states that for St. Pelagia, martyrdom granted

her the opportunity to exchange corruptibility with incorruptibility, and death with immortality (καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα μετηφίαστο ἀφθαρσίαν ἀντὶ φθορᾶς, ἀθανασίαν ἀντὶ θανάτου).³⁰ Through martyrdom, she clothed herself with eternal life instead of the present one (ζῶν ἀτελεύτητον ἀντὶ προσκαίρου περιβαλλομένη ζωῆς).³¹

iv. A spiritual wedding

Martyrdom is also understood as a spiritual wedding between the martyr and Christ. The martyr becomes intimately united with Christ because he imitates Christ's death.

This understanding of martyrdom is referred to in the homily De Eleazaro Et Septem Pueris. Chrysostom teaches that martyrdom by death is a wedding which is more spiritual than a wedding between man and woman, since here, God is married with the souls of men (πνευματικώτερος οὗτος ὁ γάμος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπου γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρμοζομένου).³² In this wedding, the martyr's soul becomes a spiritual bride (νύμφην πνευματικὴν) and his very blood is offered as an incorruptible dowry which is never spent (προῖκα τὸ αἷμα εἰσφέρουσι προῖκα μηδέποτε δαπανωμένην).³³ Behind this thought lies the conviction that man's entire being is intimately united to God through Christ's own Martyrdom.

b. The results of martyrdom by death

i. The martyr as a channel of the power of God

Chrysostom teaches that since a martyr imitates Christ's death, his blood becomes a vehicle of God's power, which cleanses the desolation caused by the pagan religions, frightens the devil and his legions, and also blinds the evil spirits by its brightness. The martyrs' blood has an immediate effect upon the adverse powers, since it constantly reminds them of Christ's saving Blood. The evidence for the above is as follows:

That the martyrs' blood is a channel which transmits the power of God and purifies the pollution caused by the heathen cults, is discussed in the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem. Here, Chrysostom claims that their blood not only redeems them, but also has the power to cleanse the city from the desolation and infection created by the heathen sacrifices (τοῦτο μὲν ἵνα μολυνθεῖσαν τὴν πόλιν τῶν εἰδώλων αἵμασι, τοῖς οἰκείοις αἵμασιν ἐκκαθάρωσι).¹ That the blood of the martyrs frightens the evil powers and renders them impotent, is first explained in the homily De Sanctis Martyribus. Here, it is stated that the martyrs' bodies were covered with streams (ῥυακῶν) of blood similar to golden rays more brilliant than those of the sun.² Chrysostom says that angels are overjoyed to see this blood, since it reminds them of Christ's Blood, while the devil and the demons remain horrified and trembling. Therefore, it is concluded that martyrs do not shed common blood, but "blood which is saving, worthy of the heavens,

uninterruptedly watering the good crops of the Church
 (οὐ γὰρ αἷμα ἦν ἀπλῶς τὸ ὀρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἷμα σωτήριον,
 αἷμα ἅγιον, αἷμα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄξιον, αἷμα διηνεκῶς τὰ
 καλά τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἄρδον φυτὰ).³ Further exposition on

this understanding is found in the In Illud. Vidi
Dominum, Homilia III. In this instance, the holy blood
 of the martyrs who are slaughtered for Christ is described
 as "holy blood, which waters the whole Church, is terrify-
 ing for demons but desirable for angels, and is saving
 for mankind" (ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ σφατιζόμενους ἀνθρώπους
 αἷμα σταζόντας ἅγιον, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἅπασαν ἄρδον,
 σταζόντας, δαίμοσι μὲν φοβερόν, ἀγγέλοις δὲ ποθεινόν,
 ἡμῖν δὲ σωτήριον).⁴

The martyrs' blood stained bodies are also
 contrasted with heaven in order to demonstrate that their
 brightness, which the demonic spirits do not dare con-
 front, exceeds that of heaven. St. Julian, for example,
 is called "a heaven" (οὐρανὸς ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς) who is
 brighter than the heaven that everyone could see.⁵

This is the case, since the stars do not make heaven as
 bright as does the effect of the blood flowing from his
 wounds to his own body. The sky above could be seen by
 men and by demons. However, only the faithful could
 look at St. Julian's wounds. If demons were to look at
 this wounded martyr, they would become blinded from the
 brightness of his glory. The devil and the demons, says
 Chrysostom, were rendered impotent by St. Julian's site,
 for the wounds that were before them were more
 miraculous, more brilliant, and possessed even greater
 power than the stars.⁶ Henceforth, the evil spirits
 were frightened of the martyrs' blood since it reminded

them of Christ's saving Blood.

The same discussion is found in the De Maccabaeis, Homilia I. In this instance, Chrysostom describes the wounded and blood-stained Maccabee Youths as being brighter than lightening and capable of rendering the devil impotent, as he did with St. Julian (οὐ τοιαῦται ἐξ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀκτῖνες ἀφίενται, οἷαι μαρμαρυγαὶ καὶ λαμπρόνες ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐξαλλόμενοι τούτων αὐτὰς ἀποτυφλοῦσι τοῦ διαβόλου τὰς ὀψεις).⁷ He explains that they exhibited a brightness like a lightening over the city, which shown brighter than " a million suns and was more obvious than the big stars" (ἀλλὰ τοῦ φωτός τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ὑπὲρ ἀστραπὴν ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν καταυγάζαντος μυρίων γὰρ ἡλίων οὗτοι λαμπρότεροι, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων φωστήρων φανερώτεροι).⁸ Their bodies which were stained with blood, possessed the grace of the Holy Spirit and were also clothed with the glory of the heavenly light (καὶ βλέπε παρακεκαθημένην αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, περιβεβλημένην αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χάριν, περιστέλλουσιν αὐτοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φωτός τὴν δόξαν).⁹ The devil and his demons would not dare look at the divine spectacle of those who imitated Christ's death.

In the light of the above, the powers of evil flee quickly from the site of a martyred Christian, because they do not see the previous mortal nature, but the mystical glory of Christ which the martyrs bring. These holy men are neither armed by angels, nor archangels, nor clothed by any other of the created powers, except by the Lord of the Angels Himself (πρὸς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν βλέπουσι τὴν τέως θνητὴν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν

ἀπορρητον ἄξιαν φορήσαντος αὐτὰ Χριστοῦ. Ταῦτα γὰρ
 τὰ ὅπλα οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις
 κτιστὴ ἐνεδύσατο δύναμις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων
 Δεσπότης).¹⁰ It is Christ, then, who sends the grace
 of the Holy Spirit upon the martyrs and clothes them
 with the heavenly light. Elsewhere Chrysostom says that
 St. Paul's blood-covered body was granted so much grace,
 that the demons were even afraid of his garments (ἱμάτια
 αὐτοῦ ἐδεδοίκεσαν δαίμονες).¹¹ Christ fought through
 the blood-covered bodies of St. Paul (II Cor. 13:3)¹²
 and the Maccabee Youths, since they accepted and bore
 the stigmata of their martyrdom for His sake (Τίμια
 γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἐπειδὴ πληγὰς ἐδέξαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου
 Δεσπότης, ἐπειδὴ στίγματα βαστάζουσι διὰ τὸν Χριστόν).¹³
 For this reason alone, they appeared more precious and
 honourable than any kingly diadem (παντὸς διαδήματος
 βασιλικῷ τιμιώτερα καὶ σεμνότερα φαίνεται).¹⁴
 Therefore, true martyrs are full of vigour for the faith
 in that they shed their own blood for Christ. They are
 powerful according to the faith and not according to the
 flesh (οὐ σφριγῶσι κατὰ τὴν σάρκα οἱ ἀθληταί, ἀλλὰ
 σφριγῶσι κατὰ τὴν πίστιν). Their nature is weak because
 they are human, but the grace which annoints them is
 strong (ἀσθενὴν αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ δυνατὴ ἡ ἀλείψασα
 αὐτοὺς χάρις) and aids them to endure all affliction.¹⁶

In conclusion then, Christian martyrdom yields
 holy blood which is imbued with God's power and through
 which "the devil is conquered, the martyr is the conqueror,
 God is glorified, and the Church is crowned" (τὸν
 διάβολον ἡττώμενον, καὶ μάρτυρα νικῶντα, καὶ θεὸν
 δοξαζόμενον, καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν στεφανουμένην).¹⁷

ii. The martyr's intercession

For St. John Chrysostom, the martyrs interceded to Christ on our behalf. By imitating Christ in His Death and Resurrection, they become worthy to pray on our behalf and also to strengthen our prayers. The Martyrs interceded to Christ for us but ultimately Christ intercedes for us to God the Father. The difference in the intercession of Christ and the martyrs is particularly seen in that He is worshipped whereas they are only venerated. In fact, the martyrs humbly yield all glory, worship, and adoration to the Most Holy Trinity of The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The above points will be elaborated in the following paragraphs, where the textual evidence is surveyed.

Chrysostom spoke about the intercession of martyrs in the homily De S. Basso Martyre. This homily praises St. Basso, a Bishop of Asia Minor who was martyred during the Decian persecution in the third century A.D. Chrysostom states that on many occasions after his death, St. Basso was able to intercede to Christ on man's behalf, because of the boldness which he exhibited in his contest of martyrdom, through which, he also took from Christ the crown of incorruption which was prepared in advance by Christ (αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνήθως πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ἱκεσίας ποιούμενος, οἷα καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου παλαιίστρας παρρησίαν κτησάμενος, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑποδεξάμενος στέφανον).¹

Chrysostom makes a similar point in the Homilia II, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrem, Etc., where it is said that "the holy martyrs become participants (i.e.

assistants) in the prayers we offer (τοὺς ἁγίους
 ἡδαιστούμεν κοινωνοὺς τῶν εὐχῶν).² The suggestion here is
 that only those who imitate Christ's offering in death
 receive the worthiness to become part of our offering
 to Christ. In this way the martyrs become our intercessors
 to Christ, as He is our Intercessor to God. Similarly
 in the Homilia III, Dicta Praesente Imperatore, St. John
 says that: "The power of the martyrs is greater in heaven
 than on earth".³ Hence, they could persuade the Lord to
 hear our prayers and intercede on our behalf to His Father.
 At the same time, it is in heaven that the martyrs are
 truly honoured and glorified by God because of the holi-
 ness, excellence (or virtue), and wisdom which they
 exhibited following Christ to Golgotha. It is this
 heavenly glorification of the martyrs which calls for
 their veneration by the Christians - but this veneration
 is not to be confused with the worship due to the Most
 Holy Trinity for Its saving economy.

c. Themes associated with martyrdom by death

1. Martyrdom and humility

The relation between martyrdom by death and humility is discussed in two instances, in the commentary De Petitione Filiorum Zebedae, Contra Anomoeans, VIII, and in the homily De SS Bernice Et Prosdoce. In both instances it is suggested that a martyr must suffer martyrdom in utter humility, if he is to imitate truly Christ's death.

In the first instance, it is stated that martyrs should suffer their death in humility, for without humility, they would not be imitating Christ's death. At the same time it is noted that, although it leads one to Christ, martyrdom does not necessarily imply that he will sit at the right or left hand of Christ, i.e. that he will enjoy the most high honour and lofty seat (ὅρας ὅτι τῶν ῥαθυμούντων καὶ ἀναπεπτωκότων καὶ ὑπτίων κειμένων οὐκ ἐνί τινά σωθῆναι ποτε; Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἕτερον τι μανθάνομεν ἀπόρρητον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖ οὐδὲ μαρτύριον τὴν ἀνωτάτω δοῦναι τιμὴν καὶ ὑψηλοτάτην προσεδρίαν).¹ As Christ Himself told Andrew and John (the sons of Zebedee), this is not His to give, for it is given by the Father only to those for whom it has been prepared (MK 10:38-40).² Nevertheless, Chrysostom states that it has been prepared for the humble who follow their Lord to the Cross.

If you love to sit with Christ and enjoy the highest honour you must seek the extreme last position among others; consider yourself, the meanest or worthless of all people, totally humble and totally insignificant, coming after

all others. It is only the virtue of humility (in connection with martyrdom) that can grant this honour. 3

Furthermore, St. John says that one must allow himself to become the most insignificant of all people, be slaughtered, and be exposed to dangers (ὅταν ἐλαττωθῇναι καταδέξῃ καὶ σφαγῇναι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι)^{3a} in order to achieve the highest honour. In conclusion, in order to become the first, one must become the last and the servant of all (MK 10:42-44), for the more one humbles himself, the better opportunity he has to secure this great honour.⁴ Therefore, martyrdom should be linked with humility if it is to render the highest reward.

In the second instance, Chrysostom alludes to this theme as he argues that martyrs should not procure their persecution, for to do so would be a sign of arrogance. His thought here is governed by Matthew 10:23 to which he refers and which states: "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next. For verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come."⁵ Clearly Chrysostom understood the above instruction of Jesus to His disciples as meaning for them to refrain from provoking an adversary into wrath. They should flee from persecution if possible, but they should not antagonize a foe, lest they become guilty of contributing to their own death. In any case, this would be a sign of arrogance, which is contrary to humility and would rob them of martyrdom's crown. If, however, they were caught in their attempt to escape, then they should humbly and willingly seal their confession of Christ in blood. In the last analysis, then, the martyr, is for Chrysostom,

one who humbles himself to such an extent that he imitates exactly Christ's death. It is only in this state of extreme humility, that makes one the last and most despised of men, but the first in the Kingdom of Heaven.

2. Methods of undergoing martyrdom

Chrysostom clearly explains in a number of places that in order to imitate Christ's death, one does not have to face crucifixion. In fact there are numerous methods of execution, depending on the circumstances that one encounters, and the crown of martyrdom is still embraced, if death is suffered for Christ's sake.

In the homily In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, Chrysostom says that although St. Stephen was stoned to death and St. Eustathius died in exile,¹ they were both Christ's martyrs just the same. "There is a variety of participants, contests, and struggles; but one is the banquet table, the crown, the prize" (Διάφορα τὰ πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ μιὰ ἡ τράπεζα, ἐνηλλαγμένα τὰ παλαίσματα εἰς ὁ στέφανος, ποικίλα τὰ ἀγωνίσματα, ἀλλὰ τὸ βραβεῖον).² Likewise, in the homily Adversus Judaeos VIII, it is said that Christian martyrs^{do} not necessarily confront idolaters in order to imitate Christ's crucifixion, but Christ's death, since any method of rendering death for His sake is acceptable. For example, someone could have become a martyr by preferring to endure an illness (which eventually would have precipitated death) with piety instead of seeking treatment for his / her affliction through wizardry or other satanic mediums.³ Here are Chrysostom's exact words:

If you repel the enchanting words and the spells, and the sorceries which produce love, and you die enduring an illness, you are completely a martyr. You are completely a martyr because you preferred death with piety instead of impious deliverance which others promised you. In order for you to learn that this is the truth, listen to what Christ has to say about the devil, "He was a murderer from the beginning" (JN 8:44).⁴

A similar example which Chrysostom gives in the same instance is the following:

Bravo, bravo, man, servant of Christ, faithful man, athlete of piety, you who preferred to die in your torments instead of betraying the piety which was entrusted to you. On that day of judgement, you will be with the martyrs. In the same manner as the martyrs preferred to be flagellated and tormented in order to be honoured, the same with you today. You preferred to be flagellated and tormented, and tormented from fever and wounds, rather than accept magical words. And nourished with these hopes, you will not even feel the sufferings, the ones which surround you. ⁵

Elsewhere, he says:

Those who wore the crown of martyrdom were whipped, locked up in prison, others were in chains like evil men, others were exiled, others lost their inheritance, others were forced to emigrate to foreign lands, and others were slaughtered - some truly and others in their will. ⁶

In other words, a martyr was someone who accepted to endure unto death whatever was pleasing to God.⁷

Furthermore, for Chrysostom, a martyr is someone who keeps a constant vigilance for an opportunity to imitate Christ's death. Here is his relevant statement:

Not only the ones who were slaughtered straightforwardly received martyrdom's crown, but also the ones who prepared beforehand, and also those who showed a constant vigilance for the opportunity to arise. ⁸

Continuing his discussion, Chrysostom also mentions the example of John the Baptist who offered judgement concerning an unlawful wedding between King Herod and his brother's wife, and was consequently beheaded (MT 14:4).

He says that the Baptist offered nothing but this judgement; however,

he became a martyr among the first - that is, among those who faced execution not only by Herod, but also by the powerful rulers of the world who violated their ancestral laws and the laws of the Church which were trampled upon. And they showed nobility with words and deeds and died everyday. Men, women, and children, how could they not be righteous, those who have been a thousand times included in the chorus of the martyrs. 9

In the same instance, Chrysostom mentions that:

one is not made a martyr only by command to sacrifice to the idols or by preferring to die instead of sacrificing to these. One is made a martyr by safeguarding whatever thing which is powerful enough to cause (or precipitate) death. This is clearly martyrdom also. 10

Hence, a comparison is made between Abel and John the Baptist to demonstrate that there is a whole variety of circumstances which can provide someone with the opportunity to die for Christ. In Chrysostom's own words:

Neither (Abel nor John the Baptist) faced a burning altar nor a statue nor received orders to sacrifice to demons. One reprimanded Herod and had his head cut off, while the other honoured God with a sacrifice greater than that of his brother's, and was also slaughtered. Are these two examples deprived of martyrdom's crowns? Who could say such a thing? Even the manner of death suffices to persuade everyone that they are included in the class of the first martyrs. 11

In another instance, the example of Abraham is used to illustrate that the mere willingness to die (even though death is not embraced) also crowns one as a martyr. Chrysostom says that although Abraham did not actually slaughter his son Isaac, in fact, he offered him to God with his decision (Gen. 22:12). In other words, he sacrificed Isaac with his will. Likewise, the Christians who are willing to die for Christ (but are not actually killed) are also counted among

those who died for Him. If a person's will is totally devoted to virtue (imitating Christ's life and death), it receives the whole crown.¹²

3. The martyr's death

Obviously, death is central to this primary notion of martyrdom. Therefore we shall now turn to what Chrysostom says about it in an attempt to clarify further his understanding of martyrdom.

In the homily De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, Chrysostom states that the martyr's death is not death. In other words, martyrdom does not result in either loss of life or destruction. Rather a martyr's death is the beginning of a better life (ζῶης βελτίονος ἀρχή), a more spiritual manner of life (πολιτείας πνευματικωτέρας προοίμια), or a transposition from the lesser to the better (μεταστάσις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων πρὸς τὰ βελτίω).¹ A similar comment is made in the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem, where he claims that St. Ignatius does not think about death as a separation from life, but that through death, he is being invited to a better and more spiritual life. This is why he saw the beasts with so much joy (οὐ γὰρ ὡς ζῶης ἀπορρήγνυσθαι μέλλων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ζῶην καλούμενος βελτίω καὶ πνευματικωτέραν, οὕτως ἀσμένως ἑώρα τὰ θηρία).²

The same point is made in a slightly different way in the second homily on De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles. Here it is stated that St. Babylas, like another St. Paul, was not ashamed of his bonds, but had actually asked for them to be buried with his body, in order to demonstrate that what were once considered as shameful, became venerable and brilliant through death, since they were born for the sake of Christ.³ Hence it is concluded that, whereas for the Greeks death results in inactivity, for the Christian martyrs death is the beginning of another

more prosperous life (ἑτέρας ζωῆς φαιδρότερας ἀρχῇ ἢ ἐνθάδε γίνεται τελευτῇ).⁴

The basis for this understanding is to be found in Christ's death and resurrection. Christ's death is a victory over death, and such are the deaths of Christ's martyrs. This optimistic view of a martyr's death results from faith in Christ's resurrection, which annihilates every fear of death and destruction. In the De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre, Homilia I, Chrysostom says through His death, Christ has broken the nerves of death (ἐξελύθη τοῦ θανάτου τὰ νεῦρα) and paralyzed the power of the devil (παρελύθη ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου δύναμις).⁵ Similarly for the martyrs who follow Him, death is a similar victory (ἵνα μάθωσιν ὅτι θάνατος μαρτύρων νίκη μαρτύρων).⁶ That which should destroy man, in reality saves him.

The view that a martyr's death is a victory in the light of Christ's resurrection, is also presented in the homily In S. Julianum Martyrem. In this instance, a martyr's death is considered as clear evidence that those who kill the martyrs are in fact defeated, and that death is a brilliant victory for those who are killed (θάνατος γὰρ μαρτύρων τῶν μὲν ἀποκτινύντων ἥτις σαφὴς, τῶν δὲ ἀναιρουμένων νίκη λαμπρά).⁷ Christ defeated the devil and his angels through His death; and the martyrs who imitate Christ's death do exactly the same. Therefore, the crowns of martyrdom are woven through death (τοῦ μαρτυρίου οἱ στέφανοι οὐ διὰ θανάτου πλέκονται;).⁸

Chrysostom establishes an interesting connection between death and the conscience of man. A martyr's death, he says, is not evil, because death as such is

not evil. Only the death of a cunning person is an evil death (οὐ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος κακός, ἀλλ' ὁ πονηρός θάνατος κακός)⁹ This understanding of death, Chrysostom finds in the Psalms of David. On the one hand it is said that "the death of sinners is evil and painful" (Ps 33:22 or 34:22), and on the other hand that "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints" (Ps 115:15 or 116:15)!¹⁰ In speaking of a cunning death, Chrysostom had in mind a cunning conscience, i.e. a conscience weighed down with the pressure of many cares (θάνατος ἁμαρτωλῶν πονηρός, τοῦτο λέγων πονηρόν, τὸ μετὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ συνειδότης ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ πολλαῖς πλημμελημάτων φροντίσι βεβαρημένον καὶ πιεζόμενον).¹¹ Henceforth, only the person who had a clean conscience (καθαρὸν ἔχων συνειδός) could fearlessly pursue the course of martyrdom with its trophies and crowns.¹² On this point, Paul is quoted saying, "For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life" (II Cor. 5:4).¹³ Essentially, Chrysostom says that "it is not the nature of things, but the human will which creates trouble" (οὐχ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσις, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώμη, αὕτη τὸν θόρυβόν ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα).¹⁴ A similar point is made by Chrysostom in his writing In Illud. Isale, Ego Dominus Deus Feci Lumen, Etc. where he states:

Valuable before the Lord is the death of His Saints. Not any death, but this particular death. And elsewhere, the death of sinners is evil. Do you see then that good is not simply good and evil is not simply evil except in the relation to the will of those who welcome it? 14a

In what sense then did the holy martyrs fear death? Chrysostom's discussion of the case of Paul in the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia II provides an answer to this question. On the one hand, Chrysostom notes that for Paul, death, punishments, and innumerable chastisements (θάνατος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ μυρία κολάσεις) were like "children's little toys" (παιδῶν αἰσώματα);¹⁵ and on the other hand, he says that Paul did fear death, because he was human.¹⁶ The former, he explains, was due to the utilization of free will (προαιρέσεως) and the latter, to natural human weakness; but in the case of Paul the former predominated over the latter.¹⁷ Martyrs on the whole, were terrified at the prospect of dying, but the impulse that compelled them not to escape martyrdom, was their free choice to follow Christ (οὐκ ἔφυγον θάνατον διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν).¹⁸

In the homily De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, St. John points out that death, which was fearful for the prophets, was no longer so in Christian times; indeed the martyrs Sts. Berince and Prosdoce and their mother Domnina fervently desired and found asylum in death.¹⁹ This is because prior to the Resurrection of Christ, God wanted death to remain fearful so that in the future, His grace might be proved truly magnanimous (ὁ θεὸς τότε ἐβούλετο φοβερόν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα δειχθῇ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς χάριτος τὸ μέγεθος).²⁰ Also God intended death initially to be a threatening punishment for man in order to prevent him from being negligent concerning his future salvation; or, God waited for the proper time before He freed man from death's bonds. According to Chrysostom, concrete evidence of God's

promise to liberate man from death's slavery was evident in St. Paul's deeds and those of the other martyrs (ὅτι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀπῆλλαξε τῆς ἀγωνίας ταύτης, δηλοῦσι μὲν οἱ μάρτυρες, δηλοῖ δὲ πρὸ μαρτύρων ὁ Παῦλος).²¹

Chrysostom mentioned that Paul and the rest of the martyrs neither despised the present life nor considered it as something hated. After Christ's resurrection, they desired the future life which was better (ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν οὐ καταγινώσκων τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς... οὐδὲ ὡς πονηρὰν φεύγων αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς κρείττονος τῆς μελλούσης ἐπιθυμῶν).²² "This is why he (Paul) did not say it was good to die, but that it was better; and better is better than good" (οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι καλὸν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ κρείσσον τὸ δὲ κρείσσον καλοῦ τινος εἶναι κρείσσον).²³ In this light, a martyr's death was a means leading to relaxation. It delivered a martyr from his torments, served as a payment for his labours, and was also a reward and a trophy for his struggles. This is why Chrysostom says that the people of the Old Covenant cried and wailed for their dead, whereas the people of the New Covenant (exemplified by the martyrs) offer praises unto God.²⁴

As indicated in the homily De S. Drosida Martyre, martyrs would not have imitated Christ's death if they were uncertain of death's defeat by Christ.²⁵ Their uncertainty would have been evident in their fear of death, as it was with man in the Old Dispensation. Crucial to the comprehension of this point, is the discussion concerning the relationship between sin and death.

Chrysostom says that death does not give birth to sin, but sin to death, and also that death has become

sin's medicine (οὐ γὰρ θάνατος ἀποτίαν ἐτεκεν, ἀλλὰ
 ἁμαρτία θάνατον ἡμῖν ἐγέννησε· θάνατος δὲ ἁμαρτίας γέγονε
 φάρμακον).²⁶ St. John cites David's statement, "Precious
 in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints"
 (Ps. 115:15 or 116:16), in order to stress that it is
 sin we should fear and not death.²⁷ In fact, only a death
 in sin is to be considered as wretched, for, as Chrysostom
 says, it is more painful and abominable to die in sin
 than it is to die in exile away from friends and family.
 For this reason, he makes a powerful contrast between a
 sinner's death and the death of a mere dog, regarding the
 former as more wretched (ὀθλιώτερον).²⁸

St. John continues this discussion in the homily
De S. Droside Martyre. Here he demonstrates that a
 sinner's death is evil because it renders eternal
 condemnation upon the sufferer. The sufferer of this
 death leaves an unpleasant memory behind him,²⁹ while
 a righteous man's death leaves a benefit both for the
 sufferer and the living through the memory of his virtue.³⁰
 St. Meletius is presented by Chrysostom as an example of
 a righteous man who benefited himself and others through
 his death. People named their children after St. Meletius
 because of his extreme piety, fervent love for God and
 love for his fellow man. His great popularity was
 astounding since merely possessing his name, was thought
 of yielding great safety in one's household, salvation
 to everyone who pronounced it, and comfort to everyone who
 desired to see him. It also offered a treasure
 worthy of innumerable goods, for it taught respect and
 chased away all foolish desire and reasoning. People
 made icons of St. Meletius in order to venerate them,

and to receive additional comfort for his departure to heaven.³¹

Similarly to St. Meletius, martyrs achieved equal status with the angelic army by imitating Christ's death. Chrysostom states in the homily De Sanctis Martyribus that both martyrs and angels reside in heaven. These two only differ in name, but are conjoined in deeds (μάρτυρες γὰρ καὶ ἄγγελοι τοῖς ὀνόμασι διεστίκασιν μόνον, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις συνάπτονται).³² The immortality and eternity shared by angels in common is also acquired by the martyrs (ἀγήρατοι καὶ ἀθάνατοι εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἔξουσιν).³³ Angels have a bodiless nature; however, martyrs have bodies which are immortal (ἀθάνατον). Their death adorns their bodies with immortality, even much more than immortality itself (μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατος τῆς ἀθανασίας μᾶλλον καλλωπίζει τὰ σώματα).³⁴ For this reason, they receive their trophies and crowns from the very moment of death, even before they attain to immortality, being as it were, crowned by death itself (ὥστε ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανον, διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα πλεονεκτοῦσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἔλαβον τὰ βραβεῖα, ἀπὸ θανάτου στεφανωθέντες).³⁵

According to Chrysostom's interpretation of Psalm 8:6 (or 8:5), this 'small gap' (death) which is filled up by Christ, becomes an advantage to the martyrs.³⁶ Indeed, if death did not exist, neither martyrdom nor its glory would exist (οὐκ ἦν μαρτύριον εἰ μὴ θάνατος ἦν).³⁷ Thus Chrysostom says that man should be thankful for death which opens up the course of martyrdom (στάδιον τοῦ μαρτυρίου). Death which was destructive in the past,

is now granted an opportunity for receiving rewards.³⁸

This demonstrates that death is good in itself because it too was created by God, and everything created by God is good. If death was not good, then the Incarnate Christ would not have suffered it in order to alleviate the heavy burden of sin from man's conscience, and inspire him to imitate His saving death of the Cross.

In the homily De S. Meletio Antiocheno, Chrysostom resumes this discussion by explaining how Christ used death for man's advantage. He says that on the one hand the devil brought a sinful death into the world for the purpose of man's destruction, having desired to maroon man on earth and to uproot any hope of his salvation,³⁹ and on the other hand, Christ took death and changed (μετέστρεψε) its effect , as he used it to elevate man once again to heaven. God's Wisdom (σοφίαν θεοῦ) grappled with sinful death, the greatest evil (μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν), and changed it into a cause of glory and honour for man. This metamorphosis of the effects of death from being evil to being good is for Chrysostom the reason why martyrs receive their rewards.⁴⁰

This is not to say however, that the devil deserves gratitude for manifesting death in the world, for as Chrysostom explains the change in death's role from something evil into something good is not of the devil's will but of God's Wisdom which effected it.⁴¹ Christ broke the "brazen gates" (συνέκλασε πύλας χαλκᾶς) of Hades into pieces and crushed "the iron bars" (καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνέθλασε, Ps. 106:16) which secured them in this manner, destroying the devil and the effect of sin on man. Since the destructiveness of sin was

accomplished, a new road to salvation (i.e. martyrdom by death) has been blazed by Christ for others to follow.⁴²

This is particularly proven through the woman's obedience to Christ and willingness to die for Him. The woman, who at one time made sinful death part of the humankind, has now defeated it. Chrysostom discusses this thought in the homily De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce. In this instance, he says that prior to Christ's resurrection, the woman was a powerful weapon of the devil. Whereas, after Christ's resurrection, she has become an undefeatable weapon in the hands of Almighty God.⁴³ As exemplified by Bernice, Prosdoce, and their mother Domnina, women can now show great daring in the face of death and unhesitatingly submit themselves to it for Christ's sake.⁴⁴ In Christ, death is no longer something frightful, because Christ has destroyed the power of sin.⁴⁵

Likewise, God's role in changing the effect of death upon mankind is also shown through Bernice's, Prosdoce's and Domnina's imitation of Christ's death.⁴⁶ Chrysostom says that God has made the weak woman strong , and the strong death weak, in order to demonstrate His power.⁴⁷ In the last analysis, a martyr's death is but:

a comfort, a strengthening of Christianity, a dissolution of death (i.e. of sinful death), a proof of the resurrection, a ridicule of the demons, an accusation of the devil, a teaching of philosophy, a movement to be indifferent to this life, a road for us to desire the other comfort during the torments that torture us, a reason for patience, a reason for perseverance, and root, fountain and mother of all goods. ⁴⁸

4. The martyr's soul

i. The soul's disposition

The disposition of a martyr's soul occupies an important place in Chrysostom's exposition of the primary notion of martyrdom, and by this we mean the martyr's readiness to die for Christ. A martyr is always one who is willingly led to martyrdom for Christ. His choice is seen by Chrysostom as an inward martyrdom of the soul - the outer one, i.e. the death of the flesh, being that which verifies the former. Also, the martyr's choice to die for Christ is seen as an invitation to Christ to come and dwell within his soul. In this manner, Christ gives the martyr's soul strength and courage to overcome the devil's plots, and to achieve the purpose of his death, namely, to save the soul from eternal destruction.

Chrysostom discusses the above in the homily In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, where he states that death alone does not make one a martyr. The crown of martyrdom is not only woven by the result of the contest, i.e. death, but also by the will (γνῶμη) of the contestant,¹ so much so, that one actually becomes a martyr at the moment of his decision to die for Christ. To illustrate this, Chrysostom refers to St. Paul's statement, "I die daily" (I Cor. 15:31), which he understands to mean that Paul accepted innumerable deaths in his body with the intention (πρόθεσις) to prepare (παρασκευάσθαι) for his life's end (πρὸς τελευτήν).² In other words, Paul's will made him ready to embrace death for Christ at any moment,

and this decision alone, says St. John, made him a martyr. Following St. Paul's example, St. Eustathius also prepared in advance to suffer and die for Christ with the will (γνώμη) and readiness (προθυμία)³ of his noble and philosophic soul (τὴν γενναίαν ἐκείνην καὶ φιλόσοφον ψυχὴν).⁴ Most probably Eustathius' soul is called philosophical because it wisely chose the correct course of action, i.e. willingly to imitate Christ's death, which grants eternal life. St. John also sees the above as foreshadowed in the Old Testament by Abraham's sacrifice. Abraham, he says, did not physically kill his son Isaac, and yet he performed the entire sacrifice (ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπῆρτισε τὴν θυσίαν),⁵ which God accepted because He accepted Abraham's intention (or purpose) and not the result (ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως τῶν προελομένων, τὰς τοιαύτας κρίνω θυσίας ἐγὼ φύσιν).⁶

The hand did not slaughter, but the will (the right choice) did. Abraham did not plunge the knife into the throat of his son, nor did he puncture his son's skin, but there is here a sacrifice without blood. ⁷

Therefore, Abraham sacrificed Isaac from the moment he chose to do so. For Chrysostom, the bloodless sacrifice of Abraham is a type (τύπος) of Eustathius' sacrifice, and so the image of the latter is prophetically drawn (προδιαγραφομένην) in the image of the former.⁸

Chrysostom goes on to say that even Christ's inward martyrdom (i.e. his decision to die) is foreshadowed in Abraham's prototypical sacrifice. This is discussed in the In Cap. XXII Genes. Homil. XLVII, where it is said that Abraham possessed a God-loving will (φιλοθεον αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης), and that it was on account of

his right decision (προαίρεσις)⁹ to adhere to God's command that he received the crown. In the same instance, Chrysostom explains that Abraham's sacrifice is a type of the Cross (ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τύπος ἐγένετο τοῦ σταυροῦ)¹⁰ on the basis of John 8:56 which states: "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad."¹¹ Abraham saw the sacrifice upon the Cross through the type and the shadow (Διὰ τοῦ τύπου, διὰ τῆς σκιάς).¹²

For as in this case the sheep was brought forth instead of Isaac, likewise, the rational lamb was brought forth for the sake of the ecumene. For it was necessary that the Truth be described beforehand in the shadow. 13

Chrysostom implies here that Christ became a martyr prior to His crucifixion, at the moment when he demonstrated his readiness to die. Similarly, the martyrs imitate Christ in His readiness and choice to die, whilst their death is visible proof of their imitating Him. Furthermore, in praising the martyrs' souls for their readiness and decision to die, Chrysostom states that these souls achieve equality with the angels, ascend into heaven and serve as chariots for God.

In Church you see innumerable chariots of martyrs and God is on top of them, racing on the road that leads to heaven. In order to see that the souls of the martyrs are a chariot of God, listen to what the Prophet says, 'The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands upon thousands' (Ps 67:18 or 68:17). In other words, that which God granted to the heavenly powers, He also granted to us men. God sits on top of the Cherubim in accordance with the psalm: 'And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind' (Ps. 17: 11 or 18: 10), and elsewhere, 'He who sits on top of the Cherubim and oversees the abysses' (Dan. 3:55). This, God also gave to us men. He sits on top of them and resides inside us. 'And I will walk among you, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people' (Lev. 26: 12 and II Cor. 6:16). The angels became a chariot,

let us become a temple. See how much we resemble in honour? See how God made peace between the heavenly and earthly? That is why we do not differ at all from the angels if we want to. 14

If, however, martyrs deny Christ in favour of the pagan gods, then their souls receive eternal condemnation. This point is discussed in the homily In S. Romanum II. Here St. John states that while martyrdom by death saves the martyrs' souls from eternal punishment,¹⁵ the "ax of the heathen altar" (τὸν ἐπιβώμιον πέλεκυν) renders great catastrophe. In comparison with the knife of a murderer which kills the flesh, this ax murders the soul and eternally enslaves it.¹⁶ It destroys not only that which is sacrificed (θυόμενον), but also the one who sacrifices (θυόντα).¹⁷

In order to avoid eternal destruction of their souls, martyrs exemplified great readiness to die for Christ. St. Drosida is such a person who demonstrates this great readiness to die a martyr's death. In the homily De S. Droside Martyre, she is likened to a "New Eve" who willingly acted in conformity with Christ's will. Here Chrysostom describes how the devil once used the woman (i.e. Eve) to defeat Adam, and how Christ used a woman (i.e. St. Drosida) to defeat the devil.¹⁸ In the first instance, he says that Eve had her brains puffed up with the hope of a foolish promise, which deceived her into transgressing God's laws (ψυχρὰς ὑποσχέσεως ἐλπίδι φουσηθεῖσα τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμους κατεπάτησεν).¹⁹ In the second instance however, St. Drosida even despised this present life in order not to deny faith to her Benefactor.²⁰ Unlike the old Eve, St. Drosida struggled like men in entering into the contest

of piety (i.e. martyrdom). Neither nature, nor age, nor anything else hindered her in suffering death for Christ's sake, because her soul was willing, and possessed readiness (προθυμία), zeal (ζήλος), and an ardent faith in God.²¹ Chrysostom says that this does not suggest that St. Drosida lacked weaknesses. Since she was human, her weaknesses were strengthened by God's grace which resided within her soul. Her soul was fortified by God because she developed a noble readiness (προθυμίαν γενναίαν), a steadfast faith (πίστιν ἀδιάκριτον), and a soul trained for dangers.²² The fear of God also settled in her soul because of God's presence there. Proof of this is her walking willingly into a blazing furnace for Christ's sake - an act similar to the martyrdom of the Three Youths in the reign of King Nebuchadnezzar. The fear of God gave her great readiness and thus made her stronger in the fire for the desire of Christ.²³ The readiness that she acquired also made her mad with a frenzy (μανείσα μανίαν) which is more descent than any other wisdom (σωφροσύνης σεμνότερον); for she was tempered with the desire to be with Christ.²⁴ Thus the fear of God enabled her to encounter the fire as a refreshment.²⁵ Her soul endured the fire, and as it burnt, it resembled pure gold purified in a furnace. Chrysostom states that the more it burnt, the purer it became.

Her flesh melted, her bones roasted, her nerves were burned, and fluids from her body gushed out; nevertheless, the faith in her soul became more steadfast and livelier. 26

Her soul was filled up with light and it marched quickly towards the bridegroom, being surrounded honourably

by angels. Her soul made her extremely worthy to dwell with Christ forever. Angels removed her from the furnace and carried her to Christ, as if from a holy bridal chamber and a wedded sleeping room.²⁷ At the same time the external punishment on her body neither damaged her soul, since it was impossible to have the soul bound (ψυχὴν γὰρ δεῖσαι ἀδύνατον ἦν) nor defeated her internal thoughts (ἐνδον λογισμοὺς), since the fear of God resided within it.²⁸

It seems that the soul of St. Julian is similarly affected by the presence of God. In this instance, Chrysostom says that as gold the longer it remains in the fire, the purer it becomes, likewise, St. Julian's soul the more it was tortured, the more it shined.²⁹ Indeed, the achievements of his soul were of such magnitude, that no one could remove them from his soul. They remained within the bravery of his soul (ψυχῆς ἀνδρεία) as if they were kept in an untrodden place and furthermore, the tyrants could not seize them, even if his heart was to be divided in half and cut into tiny pieces. On the contrary, Julian's achievements increased as God's presence changed the enemy's attacks into achievements for the martyr.³⁰ Chrysostom also suggests here that fighting against the martyr is like fighting against God and that the martyr's enemy realizes this in the light of his easy defeat.³¹ Furthermore, it is noted that the achievements which the martyrs' faith accomplished are never removed from their souls, whatever the enemy may do to their bodies, because of the operating (οἰκονομοῦντος) grace of God.³² God assists the martyrs with His grace because they

accept it out of their own free will.

In his In Epist. I Ad Cor. Homil. IV, St. John mentions that God does not force His will on anyone. God offers the crown of martyrdom to everyone who willingly accepts it. He states:

It was not against their will that the martyrs endured, but of their will, and being at liberty not to suffer; showing forth manliness harder than all adamant. 33

The same point is made in the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli Homilia IV. Here it is said that:

We should always strive to imitate Paul. He had the same body as we have, and he also fed himself with the same nourishment as we feed ourselves, and he also had the same soul as we do. But his choice was great and his readiness was brilliant and this is what made him so great. Let no one be discouraged. If you put your thoughts in order, then there is no obstacle to prevent you from being worthy of the same grace. God does not look at faces. God made Paul and also created us. In the same manner as He is Paul's Lord, He is our Lord too. In the same manner that He glorified Paul, He wants to crown us also. Let us put ourselves in order and also cleanse ourselves so that we may receive abundant grace and also become worthy of the same goods, with the grace and love towards man of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belongs the glory and the power, unto the ages of ages. 34

In the last analysis, St. John states that God invites man towards martyrdom but does not force him to die. He allows him to choose whether or not to accept the contest (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναγκάζει ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἀφίησι κυρίους εἶναι προαιρέσεων καὶ μετὰ τὴν κλήσιν).³⁵

St. John also suggests in the above homily that the one who chooses to follow Christ and shows readiness to imitate His death, possesses a prudent soul (ψυχὴν εὐγνώμονα). The examples which particularly suggest this are those of Jesus and the Jews, and the penitent thief on the Cross. On the one hand, he says that Christ appeared to the Jews as their Messiah, but they did not

wish to accept Him because they sought after man's glory.³⁶ They were senseless and twisted (ἀγνώμων ἦν καὶ δισεστραμμένος). No matter how many times they were invited to follow Christ, they would not do so, because of their evil disposition (τὸ ἐνεχθῆναι σοι φωνὴν ἄνωθεν ἄρκεσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν).³⁷ They saw Christ raise up the dead, and yet they tied and crucified Him.^{37a} On the other hand, the repentant thief (who represents Christ's martyrs) had a prudent soul in that he recognized Christ's authority and worshipped (προσεκύνησεν) Him.³⁸ It may, therefore, be concluded from the above that a prudent soul is one which willingly chooses to worship Jesus, and also shows the readiness to imitate His death. ✓

Chrysostom discusses again the role of the soul in martyrdom in the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, where he states that iron (i.e. weapons) may defeat nature (i.e. the flesh) but may not defeat the free will or tempt it (Ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾷ τῶν μαρτύρων ξίφεσι τὰ σώματα τεμνόμενα, καὶ τὴν μὲν φύσιν εἰκούσαν τῷ σιδήρῳ, τὴν δὲ προαίρεσιν οὐ παραχωροῦσαν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ ἐλεγχόμενῃν).^{38a} Abraham is referred to once again as an example illustrating the above, because his nature was restrained (φύσεως κρατήσασαν) by the right choice (προαίρεσιν) and was made to adhere to God's command. The same greatness of will, Chrysostom says, is exhibited by the Three Youths in their choice to die instead of denying their faith to God. These examples not only demonstrate that "free will becomes second nature with practice" (ὅτι δευτέρα φύσις ἡ προαίρεσις γίνεται ἐκ συνηθείας),³⁹ but also show that it can

become first nature (Ἐγὼ δὲ φαίην ἂν, ὅτι καὶ προτέρα, καθὼς τὰ προειρημένα ἀπέδειξεν).⁴⁰ Chrysostom even adds the comment that the will can imitate exactly the power of human nature (Ἐνὶ γὰρ ἐνὶ φύσεως ἰσχυὸν προαιρέσεως ἀκριβείᾳ μιμησασθαι),⁴¹ if it is well disposed towards God's service. In conclusion, Chrysostom states, that for anyone to be stronger than his nature, he must have a will that is noble and alert (προαίρεσις ἡ γενναία καὶ διεγερμένη).⁴²

For this reason, St. Paul endured all punishments like the bodiless powers who do not feel pain.⁴³ Despite the fact that pain reached his soul (since he was human), the excessive strength of his will (περισυρία τῆς προαιρέσεως) chased away satan's attacks.⁴⁴ In this manner, he achieved excellence and deeds which were above his nature.⁴⁵ He did not achieve them solely by God's grace, but also with the aid of his readiness (προθυμία) and free will (προαιρέσεως).⁴⁶ For Chrysostom the only obstacles which could have prevented Paul from acquiring excellence were an evil soul (κακία ψυχῆς) and a weak will (μαλακία γνώμης).⁴⁷

Discussing the same theme, Chrysostom claims that St. Babylas' soul could not be diminished of its riches, because St. Babylas allowed God to dwell within his soul and to give it courage. As a result of God's presence, he acquired a humble figure (σχῆμα τὸ ταπεινόν),⁴⁸ an utterly broken soul (συντετριμμένην ψυχὴν),⁴⁹ a state of mind that was delivered from insolence (θράσους ἀπηλλαγμένον φρόνημα),⁵⁰ an undaunted soul (ψυχῆς ἀκαταπληκτοῦ),⁵¹ lofty thoughts (διανοίας

ὕψηλῆς),⁵² a heavenly mind (φρενῶν οὐρανίων),⁵³

and an angelic stature (παραστήματος ἀγγελικοῦ).⁵⁴

Furthermore, St. Babylas maintained his soul's integrity because "he sent his thoughts to the heavenly king who sits on the Cherubim and looks over the entire universe; he sent them to the lofty throne of glory, the heavenly armies, the myriads of angels, the thousands of archangels, the fearful altar, the impartial tribunal, the fiery river, the Judge Himself."⁵⁵ His thoughts were constantly with God who strengthened him and granted him courage.

Furthermore, his soul was watered with the spiritual essence (τῷ πνευματικῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρτυμένος).⁵⁶

Therefore, he acted properly and with a correct logical judgement (κρίσει λογισμῶν ὀρθῇ),⁵⁷ thus doing everything that was natural, since to act according to God's will, is to act naturally. St. Babylas' action in obeying God's will to die for Christ also reveals a great and marvellous soul (μεγάλης λίαν καὶ θαυμαστῆς δεῖται ψυχῆς) full of courage endowed with prudence and measure.⁵⁸

A soul with similar courage, readiness, and decision to die for the Lord is found in the homily De Gloria In Tribulationibus. This is an exposition of Romans 5:3, which refers to a certain virgin martyr who willingly imitated Christ's death. Chrysostom states:

She (the virgin) came in and then she was attached firmly to the wood and her sides were torn and the blood was running as if she became a bride or rather as if she was sitting in a bridal room; thus she bore willingly the happenings on account of the Kingdom of Heaven, being crowned through these struggles. 59

Furthermore, St. Barlaam's soul is said to be similar to the previous examples in its readiness and

courage to imitate Christ's death. While his hand felt great pain after it was placed on burning coals, his soul endured it willingly and courageously. Chrysostom contrasts this example with the Burning Bush which Moses encountered. He says that as the Bush burned and was not consumed, likewise, St. Barlaam's hand burned without consuming his soul.⁶⁰ His body was fatigued and then destroyed; but his faith and readiness to suffer for Christ did not diminish in the least because they were firmly rooted within his invincible soul.⁶¹ Regardless if the hot coals punctured his hand, the manliness (or courage) of his soul (ἀνδρεία τῆς ψυχῆς) did not decline.⁶² On the contrary, says Chrysostom, St. Barlaam's soul possessed strength, courage, and resiliency to such a degree, that it "wanted a new hand" to show once again its courage and readiness to die for Christ.⁶³ The following extract from St. John's homily reinforces what has been previously said:

Similar to a noble soldier who enters into the midst of enemies, and kills everyone in the ranks of the enemy that opposes him, and with a broken sword which resulted from intense fighting (causing wounds in others) he returns and asks for another opponent, because his appetite for slaughtering the enemy was not yet satisfied, the same occurred with the soul of St. Barlaam. Since he offered his hand to strike at the ranks of the demons, he wanted to also have another hand in order to once again show his readiness. And do not tell me this, that he only offered one hand, but think carefully about this, that he who sacrificed his hand, he would have also offered his head and he would have sacrificed his sides by fire, and beasts, and vast oceans, and by a hangman's noose, and cross, and wheel, and all other punishments that were known; and when would he ever not be ready? And he suffered everything, and if not in practice, certainly with his disposition. Because martyrs not only face certain punishments, but they prepare beforehand for unknown punishments, because they do not serve the will of the tyrants, and neither do the tyrants set limits and measures to the punish-

81
ments; instead, all of the evils which the inhuman and beastly (wild) will reminds them (the tyrants) to offer, they (the martyrs) endure all of these punishments that befall them unless the body becomes weary (or exhausted) in the meantime and leaves the desire of the tyrants halfway paid. Therefore, the flesh (of the martyrs) became rotten and the will (freedom of choice, or the correct choice) became even more ready; it (the will) surpassed the coals in brilliance and it radiated sparks much more than these (the coals). It (the will) lighted a spiritual fire which was more fiery than this one (of the coals); it was because of this that the martyr did not feel the flame on his body, because in his soul was ignited the bright red and extremely hot fire of the love for Christ. 64

Chrysostom says that even if St. Barlaam had retracted his hand from the pagan altar, this could not have been held against him. This act, should it have occurred, [it] would have showed neither his will (γνῶμη) weakening nor his choice (προαίρεσις) being wrong. However, it did demonstrate that his nerves weakened (from their nature) and the hand (i.e. flesh) melted against his wishes.^{64a} Furthermore, the flame deteriorated and unnaturally (παρὰ φύσιν) pulled the "connection of nerves" in the hand. Chrysostom demonstrates this by contrasting it to someone with a high fever. He says that if a fever has the power to contract and twist the members of a sick person, the coals could do this much easier against the martyr's will.^{64b} Despite the excruciating pain from his hand, St. Barlaam remained firm in his faith with the aid of God's grace. Chrysostom states that the stamina granted to his soul by God, visibly defeated the devil, was marvelled by the archangels while the angels bowed to it in awe. Truly this scene (i.e. his martyrdom) was brilliant because it surpassed human nature.^{64c}

Furthermore, Chrysostom mentions that St. Pelagia's

soul exhibited even greater courage and willingness than most martyrs in dying. She committed suicide in an attempt to receive a double crown - that of virginity and martyrdom. In explaining the above, he says that the body generally welcomes death as a relaxation and deliverance from severe torture. This is the case since the body loses sensation and death does not seem as fearful. However, St. Pelagia was neither suffering from physical nor mental torture.⁶⁵ She required a great and noble state of mind (*μεγάλου τινὸς καὶ γενναίου φρονήματος*)⁶⁶ in order to choose death for Christ by suicide. Her noble state of mind was evident at the moment of her death (i.e. sacrifice, *το ἑπιχθῆναι*) since she demonstrated readiness (*προθυμία*), the right state of mind (*φρόνημα*), nobility (*τό γενναῖον*), decisiveness (*τό βουληθῆναι*), courage (*προελεῖσθαι*), and eagerness (*σπεῦσαι*) to approach Christ undefiled.⁶⁷ Chrysostom says that this was made possible by the aid and favour of God (*τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς ἀνωθεν εὐνοίας*).^{67a}

From Chrysostom's writings, it becomes evident that Christ indiscriminately imparts courage to the souls of both men and women who freely and willfully imitate his death. In the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem it is clearly stated that Christ shows no partiality towards either men or women, because:

Many are glorified and crowned in order for us to learn that with Jesus Christ's power no difference exists between male or female; neither nature, nor physical weakness, nor age, nor anything similar can hinder those who run the road of piety when there exists a noble readiness, a high state of mind, and a warm and fiery fear of God embedded in their souls. That is the reason why daughters and women,

men and youths, old people and slaves, and free men of every class and age - both genders - struggled in these contests and were not hindered in anything, because they presented nobility in choosing the right course of action. 68

The above point is well illustrated by the examples of the Maccabee family and the Prophet Job. In first instance, the Maccabee youths and their mother reveal a noble and powerful (i.e. courageous) soul (ψυχὴν δὲ ἔχον γενναίαν καὶ ἑρρωμένην) in choosing to die for God. Furthermore, their age and contest did not hinder them,⁶⁹ since they revealed a state of mind which was well trained (συγκεκροτηται τὰ φρονήματα) by a desire for piety.⁷⁰

In the second instance, St. John refers to Job in the Expositio In Psalmum CXXVII and in the IV Homilia, Adversus Eos Qui Non Adfuerant, Etc. He states that Job did not die a horrible death in demonstrating his faith and allegiance to God. However, his soul was greatly fortified with courage and readiness. This was particularly evident in his choice to suffer hardships and death instead of blaspheming God, on account of which he was included in the chorus of the martyrs.

Job's choice to serve God is discussed by St. John in the Expositio In Psalmum CXXVII. Here he points out that Job's soul freely chose to suffer instead of sinning against God.⁷¹ This piety was equivalent to martyrdom and also the peak of all the goods (οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν, ὀδυνομένην χαλινῶσαι ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν. Τοῦτο μαρτυρίου ἴσον, τοῦτο κολοφῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν).⁷² Job was also crowned a martyr through his soul's patience and courage⁷³ and by his choice not to participate in an evil sacrifice.⁷⁴ In the end of the day, Job became a

martyr at the moment his noble soul chose to serve God, despite the possibility of encountering hardship and death.⁷⁵

St. John continues his praise of Job in the IV Homilia Adversus Eos Qui Non Adfuerant, Etc. Here Job is described as a victorious athlete who possessed a superior soul (ὑψηλὴν ψυχὴν) which appeared as if it touched the heavens.⁷⁶ He was a great exemplar of piety because he revealed a right state of mind before Grace and Mosaic Law were given. St. John says that this weaved innumerable crowns for Job.⁷⁷ In his choice to obey God, Job exemplified the summit of all virtues - patience (ὅτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἀκρότατον ἡ ὑπομονή) - which required him to have a youthful (νεανικῆς) and iron-like soul (σιδηρᾶς δεόμενον ψυχῆς),⁷⁸ a philosophically bound soul (σφόδρα φιλοσοφώτατης δεόμενον ψυχῆς),⁷⁹ a sleepless soul (ἄγρυπνον ψυχὴν),⁸⁰ and an utterly contrite mind (συντετριμμένην διάνοιαν).⁸¹ For Chrysostom, the importance of the will in martyrdom is perfectly demonstrated by Job because he shows that in the last analysis, the "will receives the crown" (πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἡ στεφανουμένη).⁸²

The martyrs choose willingly to imitate Christ's death because it leads them to eternal bliss. For this reason, Chrysostom instructs his congregation to avoid lamenting over the suffering, sorrow (θλίψει), worry (στενοχωρία), and innumerable evils (μυρίοις ὄντα κακοῖς) that the heroes of Christ endure in this temporary life. Instead, they should consider the martyrs blessed (μακαρίζετε) and worthy of the crowns that are reserved for them in eternity (καὶ ζηλωτὸν

εἶναι νομίζετε δια τούς ἀποκειμένους αὐτῷ στεφάνους
ἐν τοῖς ἀπείροις αἰῶσιν ἐκεῖνοις).⁸³

The above point is also made in the homily De Sanctis Martyribus. Here it is said that although the martyrs suffer great torture, they consider it a joy because it provides them with a heavenly abode. Thus Chrysostom states, "If you see the nature (φύσιν) of those who struggled, you will say that it was a battle, a war... all that occurred. However, if you examine the will (γνώμη) of the contestants, you will admit that what they accomplished were dances, banquets, and festivals and a greatest joy" (χοροὶ, καὶ θαλῖαι, καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ μέγιστη ἡδονὴ τὰ τελούμενα).⁸⁴ Hence, the martyrs achieved victory over the enemy with naked and wounded bodies (οἱ δὲ μάρτυρες γυμνῶ τῷ σώματι μάχονται, καὶ ἡ νίκη τῶν γυμνῶν, οὐ τῶν καθωπλισμένων γίνεται),⁸⁵ and suffer all adversity and death for their Lord Jesus Christ (πάντα εἶλοντο παθεῖν διὰ τὸν αὐτῶν Δεσπότην Χριστόν).⁸⁶

Elsewhere, the joy received for imitating Christ's death is called a great gift which is never depreciated. As such, it is an adequate recompense for the hardships and death that a martyr encounters in this life (καὶ γὰρ ὄντως χάρις μέγιστη τὸ καταβῶθῆναι διὰ Χριστόν τι παθεῖν, καὶ στέφανος ἀπηρτισμένος, καὶ ἀμοιβὴ τῆς μελλούσης ἀντιδόσεως οὐκ ἐλάττων).⁸⁷ The martyrs feel joy and not sadness in imitating Christ's death because of the courage and resiliency granted to their souls by God. In describing this unsurpassed strength and resiliency, Chrysostom says, "It (their soul) was like a diamond; for as many times as it was hit, it

neither broke nor became any softer" (καὶ καθάπερ
 ἄδαμας πληττόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, οὐδὲ
 μαλασσεται, τὸν δὲ παίοντα διαλύει σίδηρον οὕτω δὴ καὶ
 αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων).⁸⁸ The same thought emerges in
 the homily In Martyres Egyptios. Here it is pointed out
 that the happiest soul is the one able to suffer for
 Christ what appears to be frightful and unbearable
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστι ψυχῆς εὐθυμότερον καταξιουμένης
 ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθεῖν τι τῶν δεινῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων εἶναι
 δοκούντων ἡμῖν).⁸⁹ This immense happiness is a foretaste
 of the jubilation that awaits the soul in eternity.

ii. The soul and love

That love is what often compells the soul to willingly 9
 ly suffer a death for Christ, is a theme which Chrysostom
 expounds in several of his homilies. He also clarifies
 the relationship between love, martyrdom, and true
 discipleship in Christ - points which will be dealt with
 in the following discussion.

In the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem, he turns to
 the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, Chapter 70 to
 stress the point that only the ones who love can accept
 their suffering for Christ willingly, courageously, and
 with joy. Furthermore, a martyr's love for his Lord
 motivates him to such an extent, that his desire (to
 imitate Christ's death) is only satisfied when he
 suffers the most severe form of punishment possible.
 Chrysostom uses St. Ignatius as an example of someone
 who loves Christ to this degree. Here is Chrysostom's
 statement:

Such are the ones who love. For the ones who love, despite of what they might suffer, they accept it with pleasure, and they consider their desire satisfied when whatever happens to them is extremely severe. This is similar to what happened to him (Ignatius). He (Ignatius) struggled to resemble the Apostles not only in their death but also in the readiness of their soul; and hearing that they were flagellated and thus left (this life for the next) gladdened, he also wanted to imitate his teachers not only in their death, but also in their joy. This is why he said, "I enjoy the beasts". 90

Love for Christ not only compels the soul to imitate Christ's suffering and death, but it also identifies a true disciple of Christ. For if circumstances demand it, a true disciple of Christ will imitate Him in His suffering and death. In the homily In S. Romanum Martyrem II, Chrysostom makes an interesting contrast between suffering martyrdom and love. Although he regards martyrdom as the pinnacle of all the goods, he still considers love to be the greatest (οἶδε γὰρ, οἶδε σαφῶς, ὅτι ἀγάπης οὐδέν μείζον οὔτε ἴσον ἐστίν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μαρτύριον ὁ πάντων ἐστὶ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν).⁹¹ Love is the distinct and unique characteristic of a disciple of Christ. It is noted that love without undergoing martyrdom can still make someone a disciple of Christ. However, martyrdom which is void of love, cannot characterize anyone as Christ's disciple (ἀγάπη μὲν γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς μαρτυρίου ποιεῖ μαθητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μαρτύριον δὲ χωρὶς ἀγάπης οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσειε τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι).⁹² The previous conclusions drawn by Chrysostom are supported by Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians 13:3 which states: "But now abideth faith, hope, love these three; and the greatest of these is love."⁹³

Love in the contest of imitating Christ's suffering

and death, is further expounded on in Chrysostom's De Anna Sermo V. In this instance, martyrs are referred to as Christ's friends who learn to love Him genuinely and warmly (καὶ τοῦτο ἰσασιν ὁσολογνησίως καὶ θερμῶς φιλεῖν ἰσασι τὸν Χριστόν).⁹⁴ The extremely sincere devotion, warmth, and love that they exhibit for Christ compels them towards choosing to imitate His suffering and death without hesitation.

This point is also expounded in the I Homilia, Quod Frequenter Conveniendum Sit. Here Chrysostom elucidates that the martyrs loved Christ so intensely, that "they disregarded their very lives" (γὰρ οἱ μὲν μάρτυρες καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς κατεφρόνησαν) in order to be with Him.⁹⁵ A parallel example is found in the homily Adversus Judaeos VI. This is very obvious in the manner he compares the Christians to the Jews. It is suggested that the Christians are those who love Christ to the extent of imitating his suffering and death, while the Jews are those people who murdered Him.⁹⁶ Through their love for Christ, the martyrs:

derided the present life, they overcame tortures and chastisements, they despised death, they flew towards heaven, they were delivered from the worries and the cares of this life, they docked in the peaceful harbour. They neither brought with them gold nor silver, nor richly adorned clothes. However, they brought with them treasures that cannot be violated - i.e. patience, manliness, love. Now they are found in the company of Paul, in front of their rewards, with their hopes encouraged that they will receive them, since they have escaped the uncertainties of the future. ⁹⁷

iii. The soul and repentance

The following discussion concerns the souls of

those who have lapsed (i.e. denied Christ) under the extreme pressure of pain and torture. Chrysostom's advise for a means of a reconciliation with God is given in these writings: Ad Theodorum Lapsum I and Ad Theodorum Lapsum II. He advises those who have lapsed to repent because the primary purpose of martyrdom is to save the soul from eternal condemnation. To act otherwise (i.e. deny Christ) and refuse repentance, is to condemn the soul.

In the first writing concerning the lapse of Theodore, later Bishop of Mopsuestia, it is pointed out that the disposition of the soul is as crucial for repentance as it is for martyrdom. Here, Chrysostom wants to show that repentance is available at anytime in a person's life if he / she chooses to repent. Time is not of the essence since repentance is not judged by it; repentance is judged by the disposition of the soul (ἄλλα διαθέσει ψυχῆς ἢ μετάνοια κρίνεται).⁹⁸ It is stressed that God never rejects sincere repentance on the behalf of a penitent. It is also pointed out that God Himself will do everything in His power to aid in immediately restoring the penitent back to a state of grace. Likewise, martyrdom's crown is also granted to a contestant depending upon his soul's disposition and not upon the duration of the contest. Chrysostom states:

We also see the martyrs obtain glorious crowns for themselves in the course not of many years, but of a few days, and often in a single day only. ⁹⁹

In the writing Ad Theodorum Lapsum II, Chrysostom says that to refuse suffering martyrdom is not a shame. For those who fight with great spirit, sometimes become wounded and fall.¹⁰⁰

Many of those who have denied Christ owing to the pressure of torture, have fought again, and departed at last with the crown of martyrdom upon their brows. 101

For human nature is a slippery thing, quick to be cheated, but quick also to recover from deceit, and as it speedily falls, so also does it readily rise. 102

The above suggests that one who has lapsed may receive martyrdom's rewards, only if his soul is willing to repent, and seal its repentance with martyrdom.

Chrysostom continues his exposition on the above in the homily De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI.

In this instance, he says that the fear of death is not something to be ashamed of, if one disposes all of his readiness to Christ. He begins this discussion by saying that one can defeat every physical contest with the power of his readiness, since nothing is impossible for those who believe in Christ.¹⁰³ Furthermore, if one disposes all of his readiness (προθυμίαν) to God, then God will render assistance in times of distress. This aid will prevent endless assaults from damaging his soul.¹⁰⁴ The one who disposes his readiness to God is not deserving of judgement, if he is frightened with the prospect of death. Chrysostom states that the fear of death is natural. On the other hand, one is deserving of judgment if he refuses to submit his readiness to God, and denies Christ by defending something unworthy of piety.¹⁰⁵ One may assume from Chrysostom's remarks that in this case only sincere repentance can rescue the soul from eternal enslavement. In reality, a combatant's fear of death makes him more marvellous than the one who is not afraid.¹⁰⁶ This person's choice becomes more radiant (προαιρεσις οὕτω διαλαμπει)¹⁰⁷ as he willingly

dies for Christ's sake.

In conclusion, Chrysostom mentions that it is natural for someone to be afraid of receiving injury, while it is indecent and unnatural for him not to admit this fear.¹⁰⁸ It depends on the free will (προαίρεσις) to correct and strengthen any natural defect (φύσεως ἑλάττωμα) which this fear of death creates.¹⁰⁹

5. Christ's or God's role

The roles of Christ or God in martyrdom are clearly alluded to in Chrysostom's discussions on martyrs and martyrdom. We put the two together because Chrysostom does not contrast between them. For Chrysostom just as Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father and Holy Spirit, hypostatically (personally) intervenes and aids the martyrs who imitated His death, so God, as one Essence and three Hypostas^e_{is} of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, intervenes and helps the martyrs during their contests of piety. God or Christ do not actually cause the martyrdoms which occur, since they never desire any harm to befall on their people. However, they do change the manifold villainy of the devil, which is aimed at destroying the martyrs, into benefit for them. In this manner, the truth of the Christian Gospel is demonstrated, and the devil's impotence is exposed. Chrysostom's expositions on the primary notion of martyrdom (i.e. martyrdom by death) demonstrate that God and Christ are with the martyrs protecting, strengthening, and advising them, especially at their moment of death. We shall now see how exactly he deals with ^{above} in his panegyrical homilies on the martyrs.

For Chrysostom, Christ is present in martyrdom strengthening the martyrs in their trial. For example, in his discussion of St. Ignatius' journey from Antioch to the Roman Colosseum where he was martyred, he makes reference to God's role in martyrdom. The events along this journey reveal that Christ is the companion of St. Ignatius on his road to martyrdom (Ἰησοῦν καὶ συναποδύμενον

τῆς τοσαύτης ὁδοιπορίας).¹ Chrysostom exalts the great triumph of Christ over the devil and death; he asserts that it is Christ who alleviates man's fear of death, and when the situation arises to confess His Name, enables faithful Christians to desire and proceed to martyrdom.

It is true that great is the power of the resurrection of Christ given by Christ Himself after His sacrifice and death in that He makes living men desire to be indifferent for their country and family and friends and relatives and even their very lives in order to confess Him. Men prefer wounds and dangers and death above the gifts of this life. These things cannot be done by a corpse, but by Him who is resurrected and lives. 2

God, says Chrysostom, allows martyrdom in order to reveal that He is in control over His people, whatever the machinations of the devil against them may be. Through St. Ignatius' martyrdom, God desired to illustrate that He alone is the Pastor of all those who believe in Him.³ God allowed St. Ignatius' martyrdom and the persecutions to occur (συνεχώρησε τοῦτο γενέσθαι)⁴ in order to demonstrate to the devil that when the Church's pastors are persecuted and exiled from their respective dioceses, piety neither lessens nor diminishes, but becomes even stronger. This proves that the Christian faith is not of man, that the truth of the Christian teaching has its roots in heaven, and that God is the one who always governs His Churches. ⁵ Finally, the devil receives concrete and explicit proof from God that "whenever he battles with God, he can never defeat Him" (καὶ ὅτι τὸν θεὸν πολεμοῦντα οὐκ ἐνὶ περιγενέσθαι ποτε).⁶

Furthermore, God allows martyrdom as a means of spreading the Gospel. Chrysostom ascertains that the very manner of St. Ignatius' death in the Colosseum was to prove that Christ is Risen and Lord.⁷ In the first

instance, St. Ignatius suffered his martyrdom in the theater as a spectacle in front of a huge audience, for the explicit purpose of publically raising the flag of victory against the devil. In the second instance, his very death will hopefully inspire the spectators to be jealous of his struggles and imitate him when the opportunity arises.⁸ Since his death has a multiple purpose, St. Ignatius dies not only nobly but also with pleasure.

Christ, says Chrysostom, proves His strength and the devil's impotence through the noble deaths of the martyrs. Christ Himself gave courage and assurance to his disciples of His power when He said, "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away" (MT 24:35).⁹

Christ's continuous presence with the martyrs is also evident as he instructs and encourages them at their moment of death. St. Babylas is an example of this. In Chrysostom's homily De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, Christ is said to have instructed St. Babylas and to have encouraged him to remain firm in his trials. Actually, St. Babylas was taught by Christ that all earthly things are a shadow, a dream, and that they are even more insignificant than these.¹⁰ It seems that Christ was on that occasion making death more bearable for St. Babylas by informing him that his real abode was in heaven.

In the same instance, Chrysostom explains that God's power was manifested through St. Babylas. Actually, God acted through St. Babylas out of love for mankind (θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας) by destroying the Temple of Apollo at the Grove of Daphne, and defeating the oracle of

Apollo and the devil. Thus, as exemplified by St. Babylas, a martyr's deeds are a constant reminder of God's power for the present and also for the future generations.¹¹

Chrysostom asserts that the promise for the great achievements yielded by the martyrs was given by Christ to His disciples on that very last night (before suffering His Passion and His Death), in the Garden of Gethsemane, in saying: "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes in me will also do the works that I do; and greater works than these will he do because I go to the Father" (JN 14:12).¹² Chrysostom also says that through the martyrs Christ demonstrates the truth of Christianity, because no pagan cult leader with all manners of wizardry and magic at his disposal, can make people either think or dare say that he is God or utters such words as the martyrs utter about Christ.¹³ In the last analysis, it is said that Christ generates the miracles; and to "Him belongs the glory together with the Father and the All-Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages" (καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν θαυματοποιὸν Χριστὸν προσκυνήσωμεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων).¹⁴

The above point is personally witnessed to by all of Christ's martyrs and is particularly demonstrated by St. Pelagia. In the De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia, I, Chrysostom explains that God gave her the strength to surpass human nature (οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεον εἰσηνεγκεν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δοτῆ).¹⁵ St. Pelagia required this strength, since she committed

suicide (a horrible method of death) in order to safeguard her chastity from the Roman soldiers. This frightening decision to die was taken only with the help of Christ. She was not alone in her action, since Christ was her counsellor at the moment of her martyrdom.¹⁶ The Lord, says Chrysostom, was her companion, who touched her heart, gave courage to her soul and chased away all fear.¹⁷ However, she did receive aid in her moment of crisis because she made herself worthy of it beforehand¹⁸ by living a life in Christ. Furthermore, it was God who blinded the hearts of the soldiers so that they could not understand the deception¹⁹ used by St. Pelagia for momentarily escaping from their clutches and ultimately executing her plan (i.e. committing suicide).²⁰ In the end, the soldiers left humiliated, embarrassed²¹, and defeated because they learned that it is impossible for them to defeat God and His Saints.²²

God shows great mercy to His martyrs, as evident with the expedient death of St. Pelagia. He put an end to St. Pelagia's distress and immediately commanded her soul to be separated from her body. He knew that she struggled enough,²³ and therefore, granted her relief through death. In other words, death did not come from any other cause except from God's command (οὐ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ πτώματος ὁ θάνατος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγῆς).²⁴

As with this virgin martyr, so with all martyrs Christ personally honours them with His presence at their death. Chrysostom makes a comparison between Christ and a wealthy master who comes without embarrassment to the grave of a deceased, loyal servant of His in order to

honour him. He says that just as this master pays honour to the memory of his servant, so Christ without embarrassment and to a greater degree, honours His martyrs with His presence at their death.²⁵

Chrysostom also explains that it is God who gives His martyrs their just rewards. He discusses this in the homily In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres. Here it is said that the martyrs accept their crowns neither on account of their own decision, nor as a result of any compensation for criminal acts inflicted upon them. The devil's constant attempt to wither their crowns is to no avail, since these crowns are given by the unbiased judgement of God (ἁδεκάστου κρίσεως).²⁶ God is a fair Judge because "nothing escapes His sleepless eye" (οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ τὸν ἀκοιμητὸν ὀφθαλμὸν).²⁷

A similar discussion also arises in the homily In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, where Chrysostom mentions that Christ is the Person who entraps the wise in their traps and renders useless the devil's evil plan to discredit and murder the martyrs. In fact, Christ turns the persecutions and manifold villanies of the devil into greater and unaccustomed glory for the martyrs. In the light of Christ's interaction with the martyrs, the enemy leaves defeated and the athletes of piety achieve an even more glorious victory.²⁸

Christ rewards the martyrs because He is their debtor (ὀφειλέτης).²⁹ If, says Chrysostom, He grants eternal life to all those who wish to follow Him (Rom. 3:23) in spite of their abounding sinfulness,³⁰ undoubtedly He will give greater things to the martyrs to whom He owes eternal life. Furthermore, if the crucified

Christ spills His blood even for those who hate Him, He will do much more for those who spilled their blood for Him.³¹ Likewise, if Christ loves and dies for those who avoid Him, much more readily will He receive the martyrs who love Him with infinite thankfulness and honour.³² Chrysostom quotes Christ on this point saying, "Greater love has no man than this, that he may lay down his life for his friends" (JN 15:13),³³ - a statement which is also applicable to the martyrs who imitate Christ's death. At the same time, Chrysostom also affirms that it is God the Father who gives innumerable goods to those who toil for His Christ. The Father, being generous and a lover of mankind, is also the Debtor (ὀφειλέτης) of the martyrs.³⁴ It is both, then, the Father and Christ who are Debtors to the martyrs and in view of all the discussion of Chrysostom, we may conclude that the rewards are given from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit, because of Christ.

For Chrysostom, however, Christ is not only He who grants the rewards, but also He who grants the actual contests. The reason, he says, that martyrs multiply daily, is to be seen in Christ's indwelling in the souls of the martyrs.³⁵ From that position He aids them to achieve their great deeds not by wizardry, but by a divine power, and His final aim is the martyrs' salvation.³⁶

In the De Maccabaeis, Homilia I , Chrysostom explicitly states that Christ is the organizer of the contests of martyrdom, and in this particular case of a fearful contest between men and demons.³⁷ Referring to the mother of the Maccabees, he states:

When you see a woman (i.e. the Maccabees'

81 mother) who is frightened, elderly, one which carries a cane, to come to the contest and to dissolve (i.e. defeat) the madness of the tyrant, to defeat the bodiless powers, to easily defeat the devil and to slap him in the face with great power, marvel at the grace of the organizer of these contests and feel amazement for the power of Christ. 38

Particularly interesting here is Chrysostom's way of linking Christ with an Old Testament martyrdom. His governing thought is that Christ is the author of the Old Covenant and New Covenant. He says, therefore, that the Maccabees received their wounds for the sake of Christ, who is the author and end of the Law and not for the sake of the Law itself or the letter of the Law. And he also argues that even if there was truth in the remarks of those who believe that they died for the Law, this only proves that Christ is the Giver of the Law.³⁹ St. Paul is quoted on this saying:

I want you to know, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate the same supernatural food and all drank the same supernatural drink. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them and the rock was Christ. 40

One of Chrysostom's important remarks on this point is the following:

As even before the sun appears for the day, the morning looks good because the light of the sun's rays enlightens the earth even from afar, even before the rays appear. The same occurred then (with the Maccabees). Before the Sun of Righteousness came, the timidity of darkness was dissolved, even before Christ appeared in the flesh, because He was close and touched things even more. 41

The Maccabee family then, demonstrates for Chrysostom that the martyrs of the Old Testament are even more brilliant than the martyrs of the New Testament, because the doors of death and Hades are not yet opened by

Christ. In the days before in Incarnation, sin reigned, curse blossomed, the fortifications of the devil were still strong, and the road of this virtue (i.e. martyrdom) was not yet walked upon and yet, the believers did die for Christ with great readiness and courage (Ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον οὐ παραιτούμαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καταλέγειν αὐτοὺς μαρτύρων, ὅτι δὴ καὶ λαμπροτέρους τοὺτους εἶναι φημι. Τότε γὰρ ἠγωνίσαντο, ὅτε οὐδέπω ἦσαν αἱ χαλκαὶ κλασθεῖσαι πύλαι, οὔτε ὁ μοχλὸς ὁ σιδηροῦς περιαιρεθείς, ὅτι ἔτι ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐκράτει, καὶ ἡ κατὰρα ἦνθει, καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἡ ἀκρόπολις συνειστήκει, καὶ ἀτριβὴς ἦν ἔτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς ἡ ὁδὸς).⁴²

In addition to the above, Chrysostom sites Jeremiah 38: 31-32 which in his opinion readily explains that one and the same Christ is the Lawgiver of both Testaments,⁴³ and he also makes a general reference to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews which deal with Christ's presence in the Old Testament.⁴⁴

In view of the above, an important question arises; if Christ is sovereign Lord in Salvation History, why does God allow idolatry and heresy to combat the Church? Chrysostom answers this question in the homily In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, saying, that God allows heresy and idolatry to combat the Church in order to demonstrate their weakness, and how easily they destroy themselves, and also to make man realize the great power of the Christian faith when he fights for it, and how it spreads even when the believer is persecuted.⁴⁵ In the end of the day, God permits the angels of Satan to combat His servants in order to prove His power and to show the resiliency of the Christian faith.⁴⁶

Further examination of the above homily shows that St. Eustathius and the Twelve Apostles of Christ are prototypes of those martyrs who demonstrate the power of Truth and the weakness of Heresy.⁴⁷ Since the above demonstrate the power of the Christian faith, their souls and bodies are made worthy of greater grace and blessings through the punishments and wounds inflicted on them. The enemies are defeated by the pitiful and by the wretched, because they are not battling simply with people, but with God who resides within them. Hence, the ones who battle with God are quickly defeated and punished for whatever treachery they attempt against His servants.⁴⁸

The above theme is also discussed in the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. IV which explains that Christ chooses the weak to carry out His will in order to demonstrate the great power that God gives them. According to Chrysostom, this is the case because Christ's followers are disciples (μαθητεύόμενοι), poor (πένητες), common people (ἰδιῶται), hungry (λιμῶ-
 ουζῶντες), humble and also descendants from humble families (ἄσχημοι καὶ ἐξ ἄσχημων).⁴⁹ The wicked demon expects to subdue these humble athletes with greater punishments. However, God who is a lover of man, allows the devil to punish the martyrs, in order to reveal his madness (i.e. wickedness and evil) more clearly, and to weave brighter crowns for the martyrs.⁵⁰ Job is such an example where God allows the devil to inflict greater evil on him, for the purpose of making him extremely glorious.⁵¹

Chrysostom suggests that if Christ is present where two or three are gathered in His Name, His presence is

felt all the more among those who are not only gathered in His Name, but also suffer for His Name.⁵² St.

Meletius is mentioned as an example of a martyr who greatly felt the presence of Christ. Christ's presence was felt by St. Meletius, because Christ invited him to the future life, where he was enlisted within the multitude of angels.⁵³ In the end of the day, it is God who grants the contest, and crowns and praises the martyr.⁵⁴

God is not the author of the offences. However, even out of the wickedness of the offences, He works good for the martyrs. According to Chrysostom, it is never God's wish that offences should arise. Concerning the above, he quotes Christ as saying: "Grant to them that they be one" (JN 17:21).⁵⁵ Since offences arise, they are of no real harm to the martyrs. They are actually a benefit. In other words, the persecutors unwillingly benefit the martyrs by hurrying them towards death. Although the persecutors benefit the martyrs, they are not driven to this by God.⁵⁶

Furthermore, Chrysostom states that Christ proves the excellence of the Christian doctrine (αὐτὸ τεκμήριον τοῦ σπουδαίου εἶναι τὸ δόγμα) through His death and the martyrs' deaths.⁵⁷ He says that after Christ's death greater and brighter things take place (i.e. martyrdoms) so that man can learn that the crucified Christ is not a mere man, but also the Son the God. Before the Cross, Peter cannot bear the mere threat of a porter. After the Cross, Peter and his followers travel around the ecumene for the purpose of preaching the Gospel. Martyrs are proof of the Resurrection; for after the Cross, thousands prefer to die rather than to pronounce what

Peter said to the porter.⁵⁸ In conclusion, Chrysostom mentions that the devil and his angels are not afraid of the Cross per se. Many people are crucified on the cross, and yet, the demonic powers are afraid of Christ who is crucified and risen.⁵⁹

Prior to His death, Christ prophesied about the days of Christian martyrdom in order to prepare men to meet martyrdom's challenges. Chrysostom gives three reasons why Christ acts in this fashion.

The first reason is his desire to prove that Christ is not an imposter. He quotes Christ saying: "Brother will deliver up brother to death, and father his child and children will rise against parents and put them to death"(MT 10:21), and also: "And now I have told you before it takes place, so that when it does take place, you may believe"(JN 14:29).⁶⁰ Chrysostom also refers to David who says something similar: "And they sacrificed their sons and their daughters to devils" (Ps. 105:37).⁶¹

The second reason given is that Christ wants to show His power which can make even death beneficial. In the light of this, Chrysostom says that others would follow Christ without fear. He also mentions that this reason can be used against Christ by His enemies. They are noted to claim that if Christ knows about the occurrences of the persecutions, then He can prevent them from occurring (since He is God's Son). Nevertheless, Chrysostom states that Christ allows them to occur in order to weave more brilliant crowns for the martyrs.⁶² To prevent the previous problem, he gives yet a third reason why Christ prophesizes in this manner.

The third reason given by Chrysostom is that Christ

tries to make martyrdom more bearable for the martyrs by informing them about its details. Whatever evils that are unexpected, appear fearful and unbearable. However, the ones that are studied beforehand, appear lighter and are confronted much easier.⁶³

6. The devil's role in martyrdom

The devil, in his continuous war against Christianity, is for Chrysostom the chief architect behind all of the nefarious persecutions and plots to punish, tempt, and torment the martyrs of Christ. In the following discussion, we shall examine the various methods of torture that he uses against the martyrs, in an attempt to deprive them of the crown of martyrdom.

It is first of all important to examine Chrysostom's understanding of the word 'satan' (or devil) before proceeding with our discussion. According to him, the etymology of the word Satan is from the Hebrew word Σατᾶν which means 'our enemy'. His organs and the men which serve him are called his angels.¹

Once having said this, it is clearly evident in the homily De Sancta Thecla Martyre, that satan was the cause of the temptations and punishments that confronted St. Thecla. It was he, the infernal suitor and horse-like prostitute (τῇ γενναίᾳ ἵπποπορνῶς κατόπιν ὁ μνηστήρ ...) who assaulted St. Thecla with pleasure-able thoughts (φιληδονίας ἐννοίας), and tried to deprive her of the state of virginity. He tormented her with pleasures (ἡδονῶν) in a way similar to that of fierce executioners ravishing the body. She battled with her thoughts (λογισμοῦς) as other martyrs did with the beasts. However, St. Thecla maintained her steadfast faith in God and turned to Christ who is omnipresent (πασι πανταχοῦ) and shouted in accordance with the psalm, "O Lord my God, in thee do I put my trust. Save me from all of them that pursue me, and deliver

me..." (Ps. 7:2 or 7:1).²

Further evidence showing that the devil is behind the martyrs' suffering is found in the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem.³ In this instance, the devil exiled Bishop Ignatius of Antioch from his diocese in order to destroy the Church of Antioch and scatter the Christians. He desired to deprive St. Ignatius of every friendly and familiar face during his time of distress, and hoped to make him ill by the long journey to his martyrdom in Rome. Despite the devil's machinations, St. Ignatius became stronger since Christ accompanied him on the road to martyrdom.⁴ The people along the journey to the cite of his martyrdom benefited by seeing him, and the Saint in turn received blessings and courage from the people.⁵

St. John again speaks on the devil's role in martyrdom in the homily De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles. He refers to St. Paul who is quoted saying that unlike other religions, Christianity is fought by the devil before it becomes well rooted and established.

For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places (Eph. 6:12).⁶

According to St. John Chrysostom, the devil did not allow the spark of the Christian faith (σπινθήρ της πίστεως) to strengthen itself, before he poured upon it the rivers and abysses from all directions (ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄβυσσοι πάντοθεν ἐπέρρεον).⁷ Nevertheless, these adverse attacks on the spark of the Christian faith did not extinguish it, but made it bigger and brighter (ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζων γινόμενος καὶ φαιδρότερος), and caused it to spread everywhere with great speed.⁸

This was the case because the martyrs who defended it, imitated Christ's death.

Christianity, therefore, destroys and engulfs its enemies, and at the same time, it strengthens its own people who are simple and obscure (εὐτελῶν καὶ ἁσχημῶν), and elevates them to an immense / ineffable height (ὕψος ἀφάτου αἰῶν).⁹ It was Fishermen (i.e. the Apostles) who became model Christians, demonstrating the strength of Christianity and the weakness of the devil; they achieved great things not because of their words (οὐτε τὰ ῥήματα) or the miracles (οὐτε τὰ θαύματα) they performed, or their state of madness and delirium (πλὴν εἰ μαινέσθαι τις αὐτοὺς φαίη καὶ παραπαίειν), best because they imitated Christ's death, and allowed Christ's power to operate within them (ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεργούς δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ).¹⁰ Because they were imbued with Christ's power, these simple fishermen were able to defeat the devil, and to present the world with a Kerygma which thrives until now.¹¹

St. John explains therefore, that Christianity flourishes when martyrs are slaughtered (σφαττομένων), burned (καιομένων), thrown over the cliffs (κρημνιζομένων), drowned (καταποντιζομένων) and delivered to the beasts (θηρίοις παραδιδόμενων) by the devil.¹² The martyrs trample over coals like mud, and they consider the vast treacherous oceans, which sometimes become their graves, as peaceful harbours. According to St. John, martyrs run into a sword as if it were a diadem and crown, thus proving that they can endure death and any means of punishment which is rendered by satan.¹³ They do this not only nobly, but also with pleasure and

great readiness (μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ προθυμίας πολλῆς).¹⁴

An excellent example of this is St. Lucian against whom the cunning devil unsuccessfully utilized many methods of punishment, in the hope of subduing his faith. The devil saw that the martyr escaped his persecutions as Chrysostom describes in the following:

Neither the furnace that he (i.e. the devil) ignited, nor the pit that he dug, nor the wheel (of torture) which he prepared, nor when he tied the Saint (i.e. Lucian) upon a tree, nor when he threw him to the gallows and to the beasts, could defeat the martyr's philosophy. 15

Not discouraged by his failure, the devil once again retaliated against St. Lucian and used hunger (λιμῶ) as his main weapon. St. Lucian was deprived of all food except for the meats which were offered as sacrifices to the pagan deities, which he had to eat or starve to death. Furthermore, Chrysostom refers to hunger as the worst, most severe, ferocious, and unbearable type of all punishments, which the devil used to torture St. Lucian in the hope of defeating his mind (διανοίας) and persuading him to deny Christ.¹⁶ Chrysostom describes the great pain which hunger can cause, in his interpretation of Lamentations 4:10: "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children. They were meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people."¹⁷ It is noted in the previous quotation that women ate their children because hunger defeated both their nature and their free will (καὶ φύσεως ἐκράτησεν ὁ λιμὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ φύσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως).¹⁸ However, hunger could not defeat this noble Saint, for the fear of God resided in him, and as St. John says, nothing exists with sufficient power capable of defeating nature and the will, except the fear of God. St. Lucian's

great fear of God was shown in the strength of his will over nature.¹⁹ Satan, in his failure to make St. Lucian eat the sacrificial meats, realized that he could not diminish St. Lucian's faith by hunger nor conquer his courage (ἀνδρείας),²⁰ because his fear of God made him all the more adamant and joyful and comforted him for the suffering which he endured for the sake of his faith.²¹ Regardless of the hunger which raged inside him, the fear of God gave him the strength to resist all the temptations of the devil.²² Chrysostom points out that St. Lucian saw the table (τράπεζαν ὁρῶν μιᾶράν καὶ ἐναγῇ)²³ of sacrificial meats as disgusting and cursed, because he remembered the other table, the fearful and complete table of the Spirit (φοβικῶδους καὶ Πνεύματος γεμούσης),²⁴ which gave him courage to endure.

Chrysostom also points out that St. Lucian adhered to Christ's own words, in his choice not to partake of the sacrificial meats:

It is written that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God (MT 4:4). 25

Furthermore, Lucian received additional courage to refrain from eating the sacrificial meats as he envisioned the Three Youths who confronted similar circumstances. Lucian and the Youths demonstrated the same philosophy (φιλοσοφίαν) of piety, which, as Chrysostom states, is praised even up till now.²⁶ According to St. John, if the Three Youths demonstrated great faith before Christ's Incarnation, there would be no excuse to any Christian for not showing greater faith after Christ's Resurrection.²⁷ The case of St. Lucian perfectly demonstrates this point. When the civil authorities, who worshipped the pagan

deities, questioned him whether he was a Christian, his unequivocally affirmative response (Χριστιανός εἰμι) decisively hit the devil (ἐνὶ τούτῳ, καὶ φιλῶ τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ διαβόλου πληττῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλα τὰ τραύματα αὐτῷ παρέχων).²⁸ Lucian possessed faith (πίστεως) and a soul that loved God (φιλοθέου ψυχῆς), which enabled him to survive this contest,²⁹ and to keep constantly in mind that his true country was the heavenly Jerusalem and that his fellow citizens were the Saints.³⁰

Additional information concerning the devil's role in martyrdom is also found in the homily In S. Romanum Martyrem I. Here, St. John calls the devil the wicked beast (κακούργον ἐστὶ τὸ θηρίον)³¹ who always contrives against man's salvation. In examining St. Romanus' martyrdom, St. John writes that the devil decapitated St. Romanus' tongue hoping to retard the Kerygma's progress. He says that by examining the purpose for this act, God's love towards man, the martyr's patience, and the devil's craftiness and evil all become clear.³² Learning about God's love enables man to thank the Lord and learn about the martyr's patience. In recognizing the devil's wickedness, man avoids the Enemy,³³ and learns to despise him more, and is enabled to defeat him easier.³⁴ According to St. John, it is important to realize the devil's craftiness and deceit since:

The danger is neither for freedom, nor country, nor money, nor for the present life, but the enemy tried to deprive man of the heavenly Jerusalem, the free city, and its goods, and eternal life, and confession to Christ. The enemy compelled man to sacrifice his soul upon the altars, to deny the Lord and to subject himself to the dominion of the demons and to worship the underminers and enemies of our



salvation, the false gods. This was harsher and more unbearable than innumerable deaths and from every torment for the Christ-loving souls. 35

St. Romanus preached against the devil by gathering together people who were overcome with fear, had lost their faith, and had betrayed their salvation. He gave them courage and prepared them to confront the enemy. Furthermore, he corrected those who strayed away from the truth and protected them with prayers (εὐχαῖς), praises, and advise; likewise, he also strengthened everyone who remained firm in his faith,³⁶ and philosophized much for the present and future things. Chrysostom says that St. Romanus demonstrated the brevity of the present things and the eternity of the future ones,³⁷ by "setting against the toils the rewards, against the jails the crowns, against the pain the trophies, or teaching what exactly the present and future life are, or what the difference which exists between them, is or even how suddenly men can die" (ἀντιτιθεῖς καὶ πόνους τὰ ἔπαλθα, ταῖς βασάνοις τοὺς στεφάνους, ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι τὰ βραβεῖα, διδασκὼν τις μὲν ἡ παρούσα ζωὴ, τις δὲ ἡ μέλλουσα, καὶ πόσον ἑκάτερας τὸ μέσον, καὶ ὅτι πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη).³⁸

St. Romanus' preaching weakened the devil's influence over the Christians who gathered to listen to the Gospel. He strengthened and exhorted these Christians towards martyrdom, and alleviated their fear of death by simply stating that, even if man did not end his life through martyrdom, the physical law of nature would eventually compell him to "come out of" (ἀποσπῆσθε)³⁹ his body. In this light, Chrysostom describes St. Romanus as a brilliant army general who

instilled courage into the Christians' souls, and transformed them from meek deers into strong lions that demonstrated great power against the devil. He also organized Christ's infantry (i.e. the Christians) and established peace among its members. He turned the shame which befell him and the machinations of the demons, against the head of the devil himself,⁴⁰ for through preaching he clearly disclosed that the Christians were no longer afraid of him, but rather laughed at the devil and allowed him to fight them.⁴¹ Through this preaching, the devil realized that whatever punishments he inflicted upon God's people, their noble readiness to follow Christ became strengthened, more powerful, greater, and warmer (οὐ γὰρ μόνον οὐκ ἐνέκοψε τῶν πιστευόντων τὴν προθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐπέτεινε πλέον, καὶ μείζω καὶ θερμότεραν αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν).⁴² To this effect, Chrysostom states:

They (the martyrs) trampled over the coals laid out by the devil as if they were roses. They threw themselves into the fire as if it was refreshing water. The Evil One tore their sides asunder and created deep gullies in their flesh which overflowed with streamlets of blood; however, the martyrs were proud of this to such an extent that it appeared as if people were showering them with gold from all directions. The holy martyrs were thrown to the gallows and were cast into the vast sea; nevertheless, they considered this as a means of elevation to heaven. Such was the great joy and satisfaction that they felt. 43

In the same instance, St. John continues his explanation of the great benefit the martyrs received from their punishments. In his efforts to explain the previous, he describes the martyrs as following a holy procession towards their martyrdoms, which in turn were likened to blossoming gardens of roses filled with streams of water.⁴⁴

The devil acknowledged the futility of executing St.

Romanus, for this was exactly what the martyr desired. The devil also knew that others would follow St. Romanus, since his death was not really death. It was the beginning of a life which had no end. He realized that Christians desired to endure great hardships and death for Christ's sake, so they could enter into the future life and dwell with their Lord.⁴⁵ He understood the martyr's death as an instrument to elevate the Christians' state of mind (φρονήματα) and to grant them greater readiness (προθυμίαν) for imitating Christ's death.⁴⁶

Instead of executing St. Romanus, the devil exised his tongue. However Romanus' physical loss of speech was not a hindrance towards teaching others about the Kerygma and the benefits of imitating Christ's death. Chrysostom says that the devil was still defeated by the spiritual tongue and voice of grace which flew from inside St. Romanus' mouth (ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐξεκόπτετο γλῶττις, ἡ δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἐφίπτατο τῷ στόματι τοῦ μακαρίου).⁴⁷ The martyr's disciples received a teaching which was more spiritual because they did not hear a human voice as before; but they heard a divine and spiritual voice, one more famous than their own.⁴⁸ The victory of God and His martyr over the devil was so splendid, that angels gathered from heaven and men assembled on earth, all wanting to hear a mouth speaking without a tongue.⁴⁹

According to Chrysostom, God promised that He would turn all of the evil against the devil and grant His martyrs salvation, as illustrated by the assistance He gave to Romanus.⁵⁰ The devil chased man out of paradise while God opened the heavens again for man to re-enter.

Likewise, the devil deprived St. Romanus of his dominion on earth, while Almighty God gave him the Kingdom of the heavens, and elevated his human nature to His Throne.⁵¹ God's benevolence granted St. Romanus greater goods than what the devil tried to deprive him of. Through the martyrdom of St. Romanus, God demonstrated that the devil should not be feared at all.⁵²

Even if God did not grant the spiritual voice to Romanus, Chrysostom states that the very act of cutting the Saint's tongue proved the Faith's effectiveness and the devil's weakness.⁵³ Even though Romanus' voice died, yet it was resurrected at the very same moment. This resurrection was even greater than the resurrection of the bodies. In the latter, the flesh remained, since only the union between soul and body was dissolved. However, in the former, the organ of speech was totally destroyed, and was immediately restored to a more brilliant degree by God.⁵⁴ Concerning God's activity in the forementioned, Chrysostom quotes the Psalmist saying:

O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! Who hast set thy glory upon the heavens. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou established strength, because of thine adversaries, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger. When I consider thy heavens, the works of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou hast ordained (Ps 8:1-3).⁵⁵

In David's era, it was out of the mouths of babes that great wisdom emerged; but now, great wisdom came from those without tongues.^{55a} Chrysostom mentions that similar examples of the devil's defeat by Christ in the Old Testament served as preparations to aid man accept Christ's miracles after His Incarnation. To demonstrate such an example, he makes a contrast between the rod of

Aaron and Romanus' tongue. He says that something blossomed from the rod of Aaron because a priest was shamed. Likewise, something blossomed from St. Romanus' mouth since Jesus, the Great High Priest was blasphemed. Aaron's rod yielded a natural crop, while a spiritual crop grew from the mouth of St. Romanus, which opened the road to heaven for him.⁵⁶

After having said this, Chrysostom remarks that demons assisted the persecutors to execute their evil plots against Christ's martyrs. In this manner, the demons attempt to battle against the Church, thinking that the scope of power of the One who was crucified is only enclosed within the Church's walls. However, Chrysostom explains that this belief is false, because Christ's boundaries are the furthest ends of the ecumene (τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα).⁵⁷ God's essence is limitless, and the Lord is invisible and does not have form according to human terms (ἀπερίγραπτον τὸ θεῖον, μὴ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁ ἡμέτερος Δεσπότης ὁράται; ἀθεώρητος γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνείδεος τῇ οὐσίᾳ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γράφεται καὶ ὁράται).⁵⁸ The devil is no match for God as proven by Chrysostom in the following:

The devil stands outside of the Church because he does not dare to enter this holy fold. Wherever there is the flock of Christ, the wolf (i.e. the devil) never appears. Instead, he is afraid of the Shepherd (Christ) and stands outside of it. ⁵⁹

The devil's inability to harm Christ's flock is also evident in the homily In S. Julianum Martyrem. The devil could not defeat St. Julian by the usual methods of torture that he employed against other martyrs; so he had to resort to a new method of execution. He placed St. Julian in a bag of serpents

and cast him into the vast sea. This martyr's combat with the devil and death was contrasted with that of the Prophet Daniel. Chrysostom states that Daniel was enclosed in a pit and covered with stones by the Babylonians, while Julian was placed in the small, compact space of a bag. Daniel emerged from the pit with the lions, while St. Julian's soul ascended from the sack of serpents to heaven; and both of them were marvelled at by the angels. On the one hand, Daniel defeated the physical lion; while on the other hand, St. Julian defeated a noetic (νοητόν) lion (i.e. satan).⁶⁰ In reference to the above, Chrysostom refers to I Peter 5:8 as proof text which states:

Be sober, be watchful; your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour. ⁶¹

St. Julian was not devoured by the lion (i.e. satan), since he removed from himself the poison of sin.⁶²

The demons persecuted (διώκουσι) the martyrs, while the devil, the most stern of all (χαλεπώτερος) persecutors,⁶³ hunted (ἐλαύνει) them. To illustrate this point, Chrysostom explains that the devil caught the martyrs and placed them in hot cauldrons, while others he put in hot pans which were hotter than fire (τοὺς δὲ εἰς λέβητας ἐνέβαλε τοῦ πυρὸς σφοδρότερος ζέοντας). Furthermore, some martyrs had their sides torn by him; some he drowned in the vast sea, while others he surrendered to the beasts. In addition, the devil tortured many martyrs in the furnace, and some he broke their joints, and others he lacerated severely, and yet others he deposited on hot coals while sparks jumped into their wounds.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, every martyr

triumphed over these and other methods of torture, while they also gave courage to Christians encountering similar punishments in the future.⁶⁵

The crafty devil also punished the martyrs with methods unknown to them so as to defeat their state of mind and make them deny Christ. Chrysostom says that with known methods of punishment, a martyr was aware of what would happen to him; and therefore, he could prepare himself for the subsequent pain and hardship. However, if he was confronted with punishment foreign to his knowledge, he could not cope with the feeling of not knowing what would happen to him. Although the new punishment might not be as severe when compared to more commonly used methods, it still became more unbearable than all other types.⁶⁶ The devil planned his battle strategy very carefully against St. Barlaam with the previous thing in mind, and St. Barlaam fell prey to satan's craftiness. Satan tried to defeat St. Barlaam by commanding his agents (i.e. the civil authorities) to force St. Barlaam to hold hot coals and incense while his hand rested on a pagan altar. According to Chrysostom, the devil thought that if Barlaam retracted his hand, that meant he denied Christ. If St. Barlaam endured the pain, he would be subjected later with greater punishments which ensured an easy defeat.⁶⁷ The devil tested this strategy against St. Barlaam during his imprisonment. Within the prison however, the martyr spoke secretly with God and learned from Him all of the devil's strategies. This is the case according to Chrysostom, because whenever martyrs are confronted by the devil, Christ is also found among them, and He

helps them prepare for every contest.⁶⁸ Having said this, Chrysostom on one hand points out that St. Barlaam withstood the pain of his torture more indifferently than a statue.⁶⁹ On the other hand, he felt suffering and pain because his body was made of flesh and bone and not of iron. In the last analysis, he demonstrated in his mortal body a philosophy (φιλοσοφίαν) that the bodiless powers possessed.⁷⁰

The devil's inability to subdue the martyrs' piety is also evident in St. Drosida's martyrdom. In reality, the devil benefited Drosida when he threw her in the furnace. Her melted flesh removed every blemish from her, and the more incorruptible it became by its duration in the fire, the higher it ascended towards heaven in a more brilliant state. While she was in the fire, she defeated the enemy powers with an exceptional manner, for her flesh frightened away the devil. Chrysostom writes that as soon as she walked into the furnace, the smoke ascending from the fire filled the air, and as it did so, it choked all of the airborne demons, thus cleansing every evil from the atmosphere.⁷¹

Satan's attacks on the Church and its members were obviously futile; nevertheless, he tried to overcome his defeat by contriving to destroy the Church internally, i.e. to divide and conquer it. It is suggested that he caused heresies to erupt in hope of creating enough factions within Christianity which would quarrel and destroy themselves. Chrysostom mentions that these internal wars are more dangerous than the threat of idolatry, because they easily overpower whoever they attack.⁷²

With St. Eustathius, the devil fought against him with the heresy of Arianism. He manipulated the temporal authorities into exiling St. Eustathius from his bishopric (in Antioch) in the light of his orthodoxy. However, these authorities could never defeat Eustathius' wisdom. Chrysostom remarks that the same occurred with St. Stephen and the Jews. This interesting contrast was made because as much as St. Stephen was pummeled with rocks, he could never be robbed of his faith and wisdom.⁷³ Likewise, St. Eustathius was exiled, but his word could not be silenced.⁷⁴

St. Julian also demonstrated the same strength in speech as St. Eustathius, for his word also could not be silenced by the devil. When St. Julian was being punished, he spoke simply by confessing Christ's Holy Name. Chrysostom mentions that his voice bore witness to Christ (τοῦ μαρτυρικοῦ σπουδαίου) and as it leaped from his mouth, it pulled with it a light brighter than any of the sun's rays.⁷⁵ His voice jumped from his holy tongue, ascended into heaven, the angels saw it and stepped aside, the archangels marvelled at it, while the Cherubim and the other heavenly powers uninterruptedly guided it, until it arrived at the Kingly Throne of God.⁷⁶

d. The martyr's relics

According to Chrysostom, the beneficial effects of martyrdom including the martyrs' continuing and aiding presence in the Church, are felt after the martyrs' death through their holy relics. These relics become vehicles manifesting God's power and love towards mankind in several ways. In the first instance, they thwart the devil's attack upon Christians and endlessly wound the devil, as they remind him of Christ's saving death and resurrection which were imitated by the holy martyrs. In the second instance, they impart great benefits to the Christians who venerate them and seek the assistance of the martyrs to whom they belong. The benefits imparted include restoration of physical and mental health to the ill and preservation of the healthy; also men are taught about Christ's Gospel, are led towards virtue (or excellence), are cleansed from the unclean spirits which are exorcised, and even the dead may be brought back to life. In the last instance, the relics of the martyrs are used as altars for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, and thus grant great benefits to the faithful throughout Salvation History (i.e. both in the Old and New Testaments), because they are imbued by the grace and power of the Holy Spirit. We may now examine the above points with reference to Chrysostom's texts.

1. Relics defeat the devil

In the homily In S. Ignatium Martyrem, Chrysostom asserts that the relics of St. Ignatius demonstrate the

saving economy of God (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 γέγονεν οἰκονομίας τὸ πάλιν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπαναγαγεῖν,
 καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι διανεῖμαι τὸν μάρτυρα), because they
 constitute tangible evidence of the devil's defeat.
 God's economy renders St. Ignatius' relics more brilliant
 after his death, because they become the vehicles of
 the Saint's glorification in heaven. Thus his relics
 demonstrate that he is victorious (στεφανίτην) over
 the devil and his legions.² They also prove that St.
 Ignatius has been a noble athlete who could defeat not only
 the devil, but every opponent that might confront him,
 and who has emerged from the course of his martyrdom
 with brilliant glory. In this light, St. Ignatius'
 relics have become vehicles of inspiration for the
 Christians, and also cause them to praise God who
 grants the contest for martyrdom.³

A similar point is brought out in the homily
De S. Hieromartyre Babyla. Here, Chrysostom stresses
 that Christians should not merely pay attention to the
 naked (γυμνὸν) body of St. Babylas (i.e. his relics)
 which was deprived of its soul, but to the fact that his
 bodily remains are empowered with the grace of the Holy
 Spirit.⁴ For this reason, St. Babylas' relics are
 visible proof that he died in Christ. According to
 Chrysostom, if God grants greater power to St. Babylas'
 dead body (i.e. relics) during the present life, then
 He will reward him with a greater prize, i.e. eternal
 life, during the time of crowning (i.e. the
 Resurrection of the Dead).⁵

St. Babylas proved that his relics were empowered
 by the Holy Spirit when he silenced the Oracle of

Apollo, which was located at the Grove of Daphne on the Orontes River. St. John explains that the ruling Roman Emperor of that time, Julian the Apostate, had claimed to have received orders from the Oracle of Apollo to remove St. Babylas' relics from Daphne, because the Saint hindered the Oracle from prophesying. Chrysostom says that the Oracle had made this special demand because it felt the unconquerable power of the Holy Spirit within St. Babylas' relics. According to St. John's report, Julian did remove St. Babylas' relics from the Grove of Daphne, but he neither deposited them into the sea, nor into the mountains and deserts.⁶ Instead, he had the Saint's coffin translated safely into the neighbouring city of Antioch.⁷ This was done, according to Chrysostom, because the wretched Emperor Julian had had many demonstrations of Christ's power through St. Babylas' relics, and he was really afraid that if these relics were to be destroyed, he might also be struck by lightning and consumed by fire like the Temple of Apollo.⁸ The destruction of Apollo's Temple had demonstrated for Chrysostom that "it was possible to transfer the bones of St. Babylas out of Daphne, but it was impossible to totally escape from the Saint's hands." The devastated Temple became a place of witness (μαρτύριον τοῦ μάρτυρος) to the martyr's power,⁹ which was granted by God who had operated through the martyr's relics. In the last analysis, it was God who defeated Apollo's oracle and revealed the victory of St. Babylas.¹⁰

St. Babylas' relics became vehicles through which God demonstrated His power and His love towards man.

Chrysostom states that God's love to protect His people from the devil and his agent (i.e. Apollo) was evident because Apollo did not encounter a dead corpse, or mere relics, but a living, active, and powerful man (St. Babylas) who was stronger than him and all the demons.¹¹ This became even more aparent when the Emperor Julian executed the Temple's priest for his failure to summon the oracle to prophesy. According to St. John, such an event became further proof of God's power operating through Babylas' relics against the pagan folly. In the final analysis, the pagan priest became himself a witness to his own defeat by God and His Martyr.¹²

Furthermore, Chrysostom states that even when Babylas was alive, the devil was powerless before him for he could endure neither the sight of his shadow nor his clothing. When he died, the demons were so afraid of his coffin that they did not dare even to cast a glimpse at his holy ashes.¹³ Chrysostom suggests here that ever since St. Babylas was martyred, his relics have been weapons against satan and bastions sheltering the faithful from satan's influence and attacks,¹⁴ because they are an everpresent witness to the Saint's imitation of Christ's death and subsequent glory in heaven. Furthermore, the demons cannot bear the sight of St. Babylas' relics, for they are also visible proof of Christ's resurrection, and of St. Babylas' dwelling with Christ in heaven. St. Babylas has now been ascended into heaven where Christ is, and is a noble soldier who continuously "accumulates trophies upon trophies, piling on top of great trophies even greater ones, and adding on top of miraculous trophies even more miraculous

ones",¹⁵ through his holy relics which have been imbued with invisible power and dominion.¹⁶

Another important point which Chrysostom makes, refers to the specific locations where according to God's providence, His Saints' relics have been deposited. The location for the deposition of St. Babylas' relics, says St. John, was selected by God with the specific purpose to edify the people with the truth and power of the Gospel which was clearly revealed in St. Babylas' achievements over the falsehood of Apollo. When Babylas' relics were transferred out of Daphne into the neighbouring city of Antioch, the people, says Chrysostom, who came to the Grove from distant lands to see the Saint's relics but did not find them there, learned the entire story of the Saint's victory over the devil, and received much benefit, and thus God's purpose was accomplished.¹⁷

Chrysostom also notes that God's grace had St. Babylas' relics translated, so that the surrounding localities might be filled with their beautiful scent.¹⁸

Such in the power that the martyrs possess, when they are alive and when they are dead and when they come to one place and leave it again. Their achievements follow one right after the other from the beginning of their lives to the end. And pay attention, he (St. Babylas) served God's laws while others transgressed them; he punished the one responsible for his murder as it was proper for him to do so; he also showed how great the difference is between the priesthood and the emperor's rule; he suppressed all of the pomp of wealth, and he trampled over the haughtiness of life; he also instructed the emperors not to extend their dominion beyond the boundaries that God allowed them, and showed the clerics how to use their dignity; he accomplished all of these and many more things when he lived, and when he departed from this life to the next, he rendered useless the demon's power, revealed the deceit of the idolaters, unveiled the foolishness of the false prophecies, broke the mask of

the false prophecies, and revealed them naked in the light of their hypocrisy; he also silenced the one who thought he served the false prophecies, thus defeating him with great violence; and now the walls of the temple remain erect and preach to everyone the shame, the foolishness, and the weakness of the god of the idolaters as do also the crowns and the victory demonstrate the power of the martyr Babylas. The power of the saints is great, undefeatable, and fearful for the kings as well as for the demonic idols and for the chief of the demons, because only to our Lord Jesus Christ belongs the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, together with the eternal Father and with the co-eternal Holy Spirit, now and always, and unto the ages of ages. 19

Chrysostom discusses again the effects of the relics of the holy martyrs on the demons in his homily In SS Juventius Et Maximinum Martyres. Here, he suggests that the relics of martyrs are a visible presence of the martyrs themselves who have imitated Christ's death and entered into the glory of heaven. Therefore, the decapitated heads of Sts. Juventius and Maximinus are more frightening to the devil than when they were alive and speaking. Likewise, St. John the Baptist's head was not as fearful when it spoke, as it was when presented to Herod upon a tray. The blood stained corpses of the martyrs, says Chrysostom, have a voice which cannot be heard with the ears, but only by the consciousness of their murderers.²⁰

By imitating Christ's death, St. Juventius and St. Maximinus were raised into heaven with greater glory and power. Chrysostom calls them pillars (στύλους), rocks (σκοπείλους), towers (πύργους), luminaries / stars (φωστῆρας), and even bulls (ταύρους). As pillars they support the Church, as towers they guide her, as rocks they repel every hostile attack of the devil and offer great peace to those in the Church, as luminaries, they chase away impiety's darkness, and

finally as bulls, they strengthen soul and body to wear the yoke of Christ.²¹ The relics, therefore, of Sts. Juventius and Maximinus are vehicles through which the heavenly glory and power of these Saints become manifest on earth.

For Chrysostom, all martyrs exhibit great courage against satan when they are alive. However after their death, they exhibit even greater courage and power because they bear the stigmata (or marks) of Christ (*νῦν γὰρ τὰ στίγματα φέρουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*). These marks clearly demonstrate the martyrs' victory over the king of this world. Furthermore, the relics which are adorned with these marks, constitute tangible proof of the martyrs' great love for God, and as such, are also channels through which the heavenly martyrs' love is transmitted to others.²² In this manner, the love of God and His Martyrs extinguishes the hatred and bitterness caused by the devil in the world.

God's love and protection from the demons abounds plentifully at the martyrs' shrines. In the homily In S. Julianum Martyrem, Chrysostom mentions that these shrines are a refuge for man and sentinels against the devil's attacks, because they contain martyrs' relics which are empowered by God's grace. Furthermore, the martyrs whose relics lie in these shrines, have the power to exorcise demons from anyone who is possessed by them. Hence, Chrysostom states:

Take someone who is possessed by a demon and by madness, and bring him to this holy tomb (St. Julian's tomb), there where the bones of the martyr are resting, and you will see him (the demon) jump and leave (out of the one possessed). Because it (the tomb and the surrounding ground) is like stepping on fire (for the

demon); he even flees immediately from the threshold (of the tomb), and he neither dares to glimpse at the relic case. And since now after so much time, when it (the martyr's corpse) became dust and ashes, they (the demons) neither dare look at the tomb nor at the naked bones of the saint; it becomes all clear that even then, when they saw him (St. Julian) sprinkled everywhere with blood, for his wounds to shine much more than the sun and its rays, they were startled (or frightened) and with their eyes dimmed, they departed. Did you see that the wounds of the martyrs were shinier and more marvellous than the stars of heaven, and that they also have greater power? 23

In the homily De S. Droside Martyre, Chrysostom remarks that demons tremble at the very dust of the martyrs and avoid their tombs. Demons do not dare stand on the ground which contains a martyr's relics, for this ground is unbearable fire and hell (πῦρ καὶ κόλασις ἀφορήτου) for them. By their inability to approach the martyrs' tombs, the demons proclaim as if with a loud voice the power that punishes them internally.²⁴

Chrysostom states in the homily In Martyres Egyptios that the martyrs grant great safety against the devil to those who venerate their relics. It is said that relics are mediums through which the heavenly martyrs' power is transmitted, for the purpose of repelling the invisible onslaught of the demons and the sensible (αἰσθητῶν) enemy. In this manner, the martyr overthrows every wickedness of the devil, and he achieves this with an ease comparable to a noble man who ruins children's toys.²⁵ Furthermore, the martyrs' relics are useful not only against the villainy of the devil, but also in the face of the Lord's anger at His people's sins. In this circumstance, those who have angered the Lord can present the martyrs' relics to Him, in order to make Him more compassionate.²⁶ The suggestion here is

that the Lord is 'appeased' with the relics of His saints, while the devil and his legions are frightened of them.

In the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia IV, Chrysostom explains why the evil spirits are frightened of the relics of martyrs by focusing on the Cross of Christ. He says that when demons hear mention of Christ's Cross, they quickly turn and flee (ἀποπηδῶσι) in order to avoid seeing it. The Cross alone is miserable (αἰσχρὸν) and disgraceful (ἐπονείδιστον) to the demons, yet it is effective against them because Jesus of Nazareth is mentioned in association with it. The demons tremble at the mere sight of the Cross of Christ, not because Christ is a wizard (πλάνος) nor a magician (μάγος), but because He desires to correct all things through his divine and unconquerable power (θεία δύναμις τις καὶ ἄμαχος). For this reason, God subjects everything (πάντων περιεγένετο) and gives (ἐνέπνευσε) it to the tentmakers and to all those who accept Him, and bear witness (μαρτυρεῖ) with great power to the same things as He did. Hence, the demons shudder (πεφρίκασι) not only at Christ who was crucified, but also at the bones of His martyrs who are slaughtered for His sake.²⁷

In the homily In Ascensionem D.N. Jesu Christi, the invincibility of the martyrs against the devil is stressed once again. This homily was delivered at a place of martyrdom called Romanesia. At Romanesia, Chrysostom explains, many martyrs were buried alongside with excommunicated heretics. The martyrs' relics, however, did not suffer any damage from defilement by the

corpses of the heretics, because their spirits were in heaven and their souls were resting safely in God's care.²⁸ The martyrs' spirits and souls were safeguarded by God because the martyrs spilled their blood and sacrificed their lives for the sake of Christ.²⁹

In the writing Contra Judaeos Et Gentiles, Quod Christus Sit Deus, Chrysostom states that the onslaught of the devil's earthly ministers (i.e. the tyrannical emperors) upon the Church was "broken easier than a spider's web and it passed away quicker than dust" (ἀλλ' ὅμως πᾶσαι αὐταὶ αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ ἐφοδοὶ ἀράχνης εὐκολώτερον διεσπάθησαν, καπνοῦ θᾶπτον διελύθησαν, κονιορτοῦ ταχύτερον παρήλθον),³⁰ because a great chorus of martyrs was produced through the tyranny of these evil emperors. Chrysostom describes these martyrs, both in life and in death, as immortal treasures, pillars, and towers who later became the cause of great beneficence (Δι' ὧν γὰρ ἐπεβούλευσαν, πολὺν μαρτύρων χορὸν ἐργασάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκείνους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀφέντες θησαυροὺς, τοὺς στύλους, τοὺς πύργους, οὐχὶ ζῶντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντες μεγάλης ὠφελείας τοῖς ὕστερον ὑπόθεσις ἐγένετο),³¹ and who prove the saying: "The gates of hell shall not prevail over her, (the Church)."³² The power, says Chrysostom, is which the relics of the glorified saints in heaven have is "the shame of the Greeks (i.e. the pagans), the disrepute of their deceit, and abolition of the demons, the nobility of the Christians and the crown of the Church" (αὕτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ αἰσχὺνη, αὕτη τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν τὸ ὄνειδος, αὕτη τῶν δαιμόνων ἡ ἐξολόθρευσις, αὕτη ἡμῶν ἡ εὐγένεια, καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ στέφανος).³³

Likewise, Chrysostom states in the Ad Populum Antiochenum Homilia VIII that the virtue (ἀρετή) of the martyrs is so great, that their very ashes expel the malicious demons (ἡ τέφρα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων πονηρῶς ἀπελαύνει δαίμονας)³⁴ from Christ's flock. The same thought is expressed in the Homilia II, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrem, Etc. where, Chrysostom praises a certain queen who literally embraced a martyr's relics out of devotion and piety in the midst of many people gathered at his shrine. The main idea expressed here is the efficacy of the martyr (to whom these relics belong) against the devil and the demonic powers, because the martyr resides with Christ in heaven. Chrysostom expounds further this efficacy by contrasting the coffins of the martyrs to the Ark of the Covenant in the days of King David. He states that the martyrs' coffins do not contain plaques made of stone as the Ark which contained the Law, but spiritual ones which abound with grace, and contain a brightly shining gift (ἐπεὶ καὶ αὕτη κιβωτὸν ἀνῆγε πολλῷ βελτίονα ἐκείνης τῆς τοῦ Δαυΐδ. Οὐ γὰρ πλακάς λιθίνας, ἀλλὰ πλακάς ἔχει πνευματικάς, καὶ χάριν ἐπανθοῦσαν, καὶ δωρεὰν ἀποστίλβουσιν).³⁵ This magnificent gift is the bones of the martyrs which discharge rays brighter than the brightest lightning (καὶ ὅσῃ αὐταῖς ἀντιλαμβάνοντα ταῖς ἀκτῖσι, μᾶλλον δὲ λαμπροτέραν ἀφίενται ἀστραπὴν).³⁶ Demons do not suffer from the rays of dawn, since this early morning light does not emit an abounding lustre as the relics. Thus, the demons become blinded and run far away from the rays emitted by a martyr's relics (ἀκτῖνα μὲν γὰρ βλέποντας ἡλιακὴν, οὐδὲν πάσχουσι δαίμονες τὴν

δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκπηδῶσαν λαμπηδόνα μὴ φέροντες, ἀπο-
 φλοῦνται καὶ δραπετεύουσι καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγουσι τοῦ
 διαστήματος...).³⁷ It is also explained that the
 power of the Saints does not only remain in their
 relics and ashes, but goes outward and loosens and expels
 the unclean powers from Christ's flock, and also
 sanctifies abundantly those who approach them with faith
 (τοσαύτη καὶ τῆς τέφρας τῶν ἁγίων ἡ δύναμις, οὐκ ἔνδον
 ἐγκαθημένη μόνον ἐν τοῖς λειψάνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περαιτέρω
 προϊούσα καὶ τὰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀπελαύνουσα δυνάμεις, καὶ
 τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως προϊόντες μετὰ πολλῆς ἁγιάζουσα τῆς
 περιουσίας).³⁸

Saints whose relics possessed such miraculous
 and marvellous powers against the demons were present in
 the Old as well as in the New Testament. For instance,
 the relics of Elisha revived a corpse because Elisha
 dwelt in heaven with Christ.³⁹ Chrysostom states that
 from that moment up to the present, similar miracles
 occurred. He mentions that a martyr transmits great
 power through his relics which continuously burns the
 demons who as a result "cry aloud, shriek, and are over-
 come from every side" (οὕτω δὲ καὶ σήμερον γέγονε τῶν
 γὰρ λειψάνων φερομένων, ἐμπρησμοὶ δαιμόνων, ὀλολυγαὶ
 καὶ κωκυτοὶ πανταχόθεν ἤρουντο).⁴⁰ The ray that leaps
 from the martyrs' holy relics attacks the opposing
 powers in their ranks and consumes them by fire (τῆς
 ἀκτίνος τῶν ὁσίων ἐκπηδῶσης, καὶ τὴν φάλλαγα τῶν
 ἀντικειμένων κατακαίουσης δυνάμεων).⁴¹ Also in the
II Homilia, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrem, Etc., it
 is said that the queen who venerated a martyr's relics
 and embraced them in her arms, should be compared to

Mary in the Old Testament who carried Joseph's bones across the Red Sea. According to Chrysostom, Mary drowned the Egyptians in their pursuit of the Israelites, because she carried Joseph's relics. Likewise, the queen suffocated the demons because she carried a saint's relics in her hands.⁴²

2. Benefits imparted to man

According to St. John Chrysostom, the martyrs do not only defeat the devil through their relics, but they also impart great benefits to man. They grant man health of mind and body, and teach him the virtues which guide him towards salvation. In view of all this, Chrysostom stresses the importance of visiting the martyrs' shrines, for it is there that all benefits are received.

The Christians who visit the martyrs' shrines for the purpose of venerating the buried relics, receive many rewards; they are filled with blessings (εὐλογιῶν) and boldness (παρρησίας), they acquire a noble state of mind (γενναίου φρονήματος) and great courage or bravery (πολλῆς ἀνδρείας),⁴³ they harvest spiritual crops (i.e. the virtues; πνευματικὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρεπόμενοι καρποὺς),⁴⁴ and they receive great goods (μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι ἀγαθὰ). They are abundantly rewarded, because not only the relics, but also the relic cases that contain the relics are filled with spiritual grace (ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ θῆκαι τῶν ἁγίων πνευματικῆς εἰσι πεπληρωμέναι χάριτος).⁴⁵

A remarkable and prototypical example of the above,

is the case of the Prophet Elisha in the Old Dispensation. Chrysostom recalls II Kings 13:21 according to which when a certain corpse was placed on the grave site of the Prophet Elisha, the bonds of death were broken and the corpse was revived. Similar manifestations of God's power occur more frequently at the present, states Chrysostom, when the grace of the Holy Spirit operates more decisively (ὅτε πλείων ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνέργεια).⁴⁶ Hence, great power is given to the worthy believers who touch the relic cases of the saints.⁴⁷

God allows the relics of His Martyrs to remain on earth, because through them, He guides man towards the same zeal as that exhibited by the martyrs, who presently reside in heaven. Man's acceptance of this guidance gives God the opportunity to prepare a safe harbour (λιμένα τινὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ) for man, and to provide comfort for the misfortunes that he may encounter.⁴⁸

Spiritual healing is also imparted by the martyrs to the sick and afflicted who come to their holy tombs, in order to venerate their relics. So much power and grace emanate from the Saints' tombs, that the souls of the visitors receive immediate forgiveness for their sins by merely looking (i.e. with the mind, the eye of the soul) at the grave site.⁴⁹ Afterwards, Chrysostom states, the visitor is free to return home with great joy.

A similar example is noted in the homily De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, where Chrysostom points out that St. Babylas blows a light breeze (ὥρα λεπτῇ) in all directions to everyone coming to his shrine to pray, meditate and honour him. According to Chrysostom, this breeze is invisible because it does:

not benefit the body. However, it has the power to penetrate the soul can calm it with modesty and remove every earthly burden. The soul is relieved and made lighter at the very moment when it becomes so burdened from its sins, that it appears as if it is about to fall.⁵⁰

Furthermore, Chrysostom advises his congregation that not only the physically and spiritually ill among them should visit the Saints' tombs, but also the healthy ones, and the ones who are in good spirits, and those who are glorious and have power. Even if someone feels courage in front of God, he will benefit spiritually and physically by such a visit.⁵¹

A visitor's goods become eternal when he visits a Saint's shrine and venerates the Saint's relics. This is the case because the visitor's soul desires humility despite its achievements, and this humility in turn, restricts his conscience from boasting.⁵² A Saint's shrine is also a treasure and a shelter which delivers man from his temptations and enables him to securely anchor his goods, because the martyr's relics which are buried there, are vehicles of the martyr's heavenly glory and power.⁵³

In the homily De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, Chrysostom mentions that God could have raised the body of St. Babylas into heaven, if He so desired, as He had done with Enoch and Elijah, whom St. Babylas imitated. However, God, is a lover of man who, wishing to offer man many opportunities for his salvation, allows St. Babylas' relics to remain on earth to open up the road which invites man towards virtue (τὴν ὁδὸν, ἱκανὴν παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν). God also wants

the martyr's grave to awaken the zeal in man's soul, and cause him to imitate the martyr's life. Chrysostom believes that man can obtain this zeal by simply looking at the coffin of the saint.⁵⁴ The sight of the martyr's coffin penetrates into man's soul, dominates it and elevates it, and makes it ready for virtue. This is the saint, in this case St. Babylas, [is] assisting (παρῑστῶτος) and aiding man with his blessings. Man's soul, therefore, is governed with the apparition (φαντασία) of St. Babylas as it approaches the Saint's tomb. Furthermore, if one who suffers happens to gaze at Babylas' coffin, his soul is filled with power which makes him into a new man.⁵⁵ Chrysostom states:

Anyone can learn this very fact if he thinks about those who mourn. The mourners as soon as they approach the graves of the dead (their loved ones) appear as if they do not see the tombs. Instead, it appears as if they see the dead standing erect. And therefore, they call out the names of the dead from afar. Many who suffer unbearable, go near the graves of their loved ones who have departed from this life and they spend all of their time there. They would not spend such a great amount of time at the tombs if they did not receive some sort of comfort by gazing at the grave site. And why do I say a place and a grave? Since by simply seeing one piece of clothing of the dead person and by the words that will come into their thoughts, this will stir their soul and it will strengthen the memory of those, that in the light of the span of time, slowly begin to be forgotten. For these reasons God allowed the relics of the Saints to remain. ⁵⁶

Everything that has occurred, the martyrdoms and the divine preservation of the martyrs' relics, has been allowed by God for man's benefit. Chrysostom says that this point is proven by the miracles which the martyrs perform everyday.⁵⁷ God is in the background alluring the people to the martyrs' tombs, and God also empowers the martyrs' relics to benefit the people's souls.⁵⁸

For example, Chrysostom points out, if someone approaches the suburb of Daphne and sees the threshold of St. Babylas' shrine from a distance, he will immediately become respectful and modest. Chrysostom compares this person to a youth sitting at a philosophical discussion (συμποσίῳ), who watches his pedagogue (i.e. the martyr) approach him and advise him with his gaze (ὁψέως) how to conduct himself; in this manner, he does not embarrass his teacher's fame.⁵⁹

When a visitor arrives at the shrine and sees Babylas' coffin for the first time, he feels even greater devotion, because it seems as if he is actually looking at the saint himself.⁶⁰ The sight of the coffin imparts to him a great fear of God, and expells every feeling of indifference towards his salvation. According to St. John, once the visitor's soul is plentifully rewarded, it sprouts wings and departs for its home.⁶¹

The relics of St. Babylas make St. Babylas' presence strongly felt, and for this reason, it seems that St. Babylas personally meets and welcomes all of his visitors during their journey to his tomb. It is said that he receives them with great prudence (σωφροσύνης), and sends them to his shrine (at Daphne), so they can be spiritually comforted.⁶² Chrysostom states that in this manner, St. Babylas is instructing them to, 'Serve the Lord with fear, and to rejoice with trembling' (Ps. 2:11), and 'Whether they eat, or drink, or whatsoever they do, to do it all to the glory of God' (I Cor. 10:31).⁶³ Chrysostom also notes that once people arrive at St. Babylas' tomb, the saint grants them spiritual nourishment and protection from any harm. The well

mannered person as well as the indifferent one receive Godly prudence and are rescued from the craziness of desire resembling someone falling into a furnace and not suffering the slightest harm.⁶⁴ In addition to the above, the spiritual shade imparted by the martyr to the onlooker, descends from the onlooker's eyes to his soul. This shade puts to sleep (ἐμπροσθὸν ἔσθησε) the flame, and extinguishes the conflagration of desire instilling at the same time a great piety into the thoughts.⁶⁵ Hence, this blessed martyr dissolves the insolence (ἀσέλγεια) of the despotic power of the devil which causes desire to arise.⁶⁶

Similar thoughts are expressed by Chrysostom in the homily In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres. Here, he says that those who approach the coffins of St. Juventius and St. Maximinus and embrace their relics with faith, receive great blessings,⁶⁷ because these saints were imitators of Christ's death. In fact St. Juventius and St. Maximinus are similar to noble soldiers who returning from battle and displaying their wounds to the King, were, in return, rewarded for their heroism. Precisely because these Saints fought and died heroically for Christ, the King of Heaven, the sight of their relics (i.e. their decapitated heads laying alongside of their bodies) enables those believers who venerate them to acquire whatever they desire from Christ.⁶⁸

In the light of the above, Chrysostom instructs his congregation to approach the tombs of St. Juventius and St. Maximinus with great zeal and faith, in order to receive the great treasures that these Saints grant through their relics. These treasures will guide them

in accordance with God's will, and eventually enable them to enter the safe harbour of heaven worthily and many gainfully.⁶⁹

As we have already seen elsewhere Chrysostom states that the tombs of the Saints should not be visited only on the Saints' feast days, but as frequently as possible because of the great benefits which abound there. He also points out that anyone who stands before them should prostrate himself with great respect, for the tombs as well as the bones of saints have great power (δύναται γὰρ καὶ θῆκαι μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ὁστᾶ τῶν μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν).⁷⁰

In the In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homilia XXVI, Chrysostom observes that the tombs of the martyrs (lit. the servants of the Crucified Lord) are more splendid than the palaces of kings. Even kings set aside their pride and make pilgrimages to these holy tombs, asking the heavenly saints to be their patrons. From the time of Constantine the Great, Kings considered it a great honour to be buried simply on the threshold of the tombs of the Apostles, and by this demonstrated the superiority of the Apostles over them. In the same homily, Chrysostom notes that great pleasure is found at these tombs, since whoever approaches them, finds his thoughts being sent on to heaven, to the King who is above with the angelic army, and the martyrs themselves, and especially to this King's lofty throne of unapproachable glory. Since martyrs, whose relics lie in these tombs, have the power to summon demons and put them to torture, they also free everyone who is bound with the bitterest of all bonds - sin and death. These tombs remind the

visitor that the saints who once possessed bodies, are now victorious over the bodiless powers. The Saints' very dust, bones, and ashes rack (διαξάινει) the demonic invisible natures, and therefore, the tombs and relics of the saints exhibit the outlines and symbols of the judgement to come, especially inasmuch as demons are scourged, and men are chastened, delivered, and urged towards virtue.^{70a}

From Chrysostom's texts, it is also clear that Churches were built on top of these tombs, where people entered for prayer and received the eternal rewards sent by the victorious martyr through his buried relics. A passage in the In Epist. I Ad Thessal. Caput V, Homilia XI discusses the above:

Let us consider these things constantly, those who are below us, those who are under greater calamities, and so we shall be able to be thankful to God. Life abounds with many such instances. And he who is sober, and willing to attend, gains no small instruction from the houses of prayer. For on this account the poor sit before the vestibule both in the churches and chapels of the Martyrs,* that we may receive great benefit from the spectacle of these things. For consider, that when we enter into earthly palaces, we can see nothing of this kind; but men that are dignified and famous, and wealthy and intelligent, are everywhere hastening to and fro. But into the real palaces, I mean the Church, and oratories** of the Martyrs, enter the ~~domoniacs~~ the maimed, the poor, the aged, the blind, and those whose limbs are distorted. And wherefore? That thou mayest be instructed by the spectacle of these things; in the first place that if thou hast entered drawing after thee any pride from without, having looked upon these, and laid aside thy arrogance, and become contrite in heart, so thou mayest go in, and hear the things that are said; for it is not possible that he who prays with an arrogant mind should be heard. That when thou seest an aged man, thou mayest not be elated at thy youth, for these old men were once young. That when thou boastest highly of thy warfare, or thy kingly power, thou mayest consider that from these spring those who are become illustrious in kings' courts. That, when thou presumest upon

thy bodily health, taking heed to these, thou mayest abate thy lofty spirit. For the healthy man who continually enters here, will not be highminded on account of his bodily health; and the sick man will receive no slight consolation. But they do not sit here only on this account, but that they may also make thee compassionate, and thou mayest be inclined to pity; that thou mayest admire the lovingkindness of God; for if God is not ashamed of them, but has set them in His vestibules, much less be thou ashamed; that thou mayest not be highminded on account of palaces upon earth. 70b

Furthermore, Chrysostom points out that it is proper to approach the relics and tombs of the martyrs with great respect because they are reminders of the death of these saints for Christ's sake. Particularly striking is his suggestion that everyone who does this, receives a martyr's reward (οὕτως ὁ δεχόμενος μάρτυρα εἰς ὄνομα μάρτυρος μισθὸν μάρτυρος λήψεται),⁷¹ i.e. virtue and an abode in heaven. The person who accepts a martyr for what he is, attends the martyr's feast day celebration, listens to the story of his struggles (contests), marvels at all his achievements and is generally zealous for his virtue.⁷² This is the case, says Chrysostom, because the martyrs' memorials do not merely comprise their corpses, coffins, writings and monuments erected in their honour, but also their achievements, zeal for the Faith, and clean conscience before God.⁷³

In the homily In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, Chrysostom states that everyone who visits St. Eustathius' tomb, himself becomes an ensouled and spiritual tomb of that Saint (τάφος ἐμψυχος καὶ πνευματικός).⁷⁴ He mentions this at Eustathius' feast day celebration, because he could see the Saint dwelling within the thoughts of everyone present.⁷⁵ The enemies plotted

against St. Eustathius and murdered him; but they neither harmed him nor extinguished his glory. On the contrary, St. John remarks, they made St. Eustathius' glory increase by making many tombs out of those visiting his relics, tombs which were alive, talking, and ultimately progressing towards the same goal, i.e. to live with Christ in heaven forever.⁷⁶

In the same homily, St. Eustathius' relics are called fountains (πηγὰς), roots (ῥιζὰς), and spiritual perfume (μύρα καλῶ, πνευματικά),⁷⁷ because they do not keep their power to themselves, but transmit it to others and through them, to many distant places.⁷⁸

Regardless of how we might describe it, fountains gush forth much water, but they do not keep these waters within their depths. They also give birth to distant rivers which connect with the vast sea; and it appears as if they are spreading some kind of long arm grasping the oceanic waters. The same applies to roots. Truly the veins which ascend the trees, have their roots hidden in the bosom of the earth; but the earth does not withhold their power. When they spread their blossoms on the high branches, the veins drag themselves upon those supports and progress a great distance thus creating a wide shelter with their thick leaves. The same also occurs with perfume. Perfume many times is found in a room, but its scent escapes from the windows and progresses towards the crossroads and to the crowded market places. It teaches to all who walk outside the excellence of the scent that lies within the bottles. If fountains, roots, plants, perfumes have such tremendous power, it is even moreso with the saints' bodies. You are witnesses that the forementioned is not a lie. While the body of the martyr (St. Eustathius) is located in Thrace, you who do not reside in Thrace but are far away from there, perceive the fragrance over this great distance; and this is why you assemble together (on his feast day) and the distance does not hinder you and your zeal is not diminished by the passing time. Such is the nature of the spiritual achievements, that material obstacles do not hinder them. They blossom and multiply every day and neither does time wither them nor distance hinder them from spreading. 79

St. John speaks similarly in the Homilia In Martyres,

where he remarks that the tombs and relics of the Saints 'serve' man's salvation, since through them, the Saints impart benefits and blessings to him. He also states that the pilgrim receives great aid from the martyrs because they were "torn apart, sprinkled with blood, decorated with myriads of wounds, despised the present life and flew towards the future" for the purpose of dwelling with Christ.⁸⁰ But the pilgrim, says Chrysostom, needs to shed tears, humble his thoughts and embrace the Saints' relics and coffins in order to receive great spiritual satisfaction and blessings, for the heavenly martyrs bestow blessings not only through their bones, but also through the tombs and coffins which contain their bones.⁸¹ Furthermore, if one takes holy oil which is blessed over the Saints' relics and anoints his entire body - tongue, lips, throat, eyes - he may escape the ruin of drunkenness. The scented and blessed oil reminds him of the martyrs' achievements, and curbs all feelings of licentiousness, granting great patience and healing his soul's illnesses.⁸²

According to Chrysostom, drunkenness must be avoided whenever one anoints himself with holy oil because it is a great sin. This warning applies to both men and women because in Christ's army no difference exists between males and females.⁸³ He explains that whoever combats the machinations of the devil by acting soberly, places his manner of behaviour like an arrow into the invisible armies of the demons.⁸⁴

Even the Prophet Amos (6:4-6) in the Old Testament outlawed sinful behaviour after one's anointment with holy oil. Strict conduct is even more applicable in the

New Testament era when the grace of God and Christian philosophy abound much more.⁸⁵

To avoid acting sinfully (i.e. unsoberly), Chrysostom states, one should come to the holy tombs of the martyrs in order to learn how to fight, struggle, and render impotent the power of the invisible demons.⁸⁶ The very sight of the martyr's holy relics reveals courage of soul and a power of will, a new and marvellous trophy of victory, and a battle, wounds and contests of a man of power.⁸⁷ All these wonderful gifts granted to the pilgrim by the martyrs help him to behave soberly when he returns home and to reveal to everyone that he has visited the relics of Christ's Martyrs.⁸⁸

In another homily entitled De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, Chrysostom refers again to the benefits and rewards that one's soul receives at the Saints' tombs. He says that the first benefits which the traveler receives upon arrival are greater warmth in his prayers (εὐχαῖς) and the shedding of tears of repentance, because the martyr's apparition (τοῦ μάρτυρος ἡ φαντασία) cause the traveler to realize his own great poverty in the light of the martyr's achievements.⁸⁹ He becomes aware of the courage which the martyr exhibited for God and, seeing the brilliance and glory of his relics, realizes his own sins. As a result of this vision, he sheds tears realizing his lack in virtue.⁹⁰

Chrysostom reiterates here that relics were left by God on earth so that men might visit them whenever the cares of life darkened their thoughts and weighed down their consciousnesses, and regain through them and through prayer their true perspective which relates to

their salvation. The place of martyrdom where relics are deposited become in this way places of refreshment and renewal.⁹¹

Thus Chrysostom can point out that relics are much better than material treasures because the latter put to danger all who pursue them with greed and easily are divided and, as a result, quickly lost; whereas the relics, are neither dangerous nor are they diminished when they are divided, but become ever so valuable since spiritual things (such as relics) increase in value when they are partitioned, and multiply when they are divided.⁹²

Furthermore, Chrysostom in the De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, mentions that the martyrs empower their relic cases and relics with an equal amount of power, and for this reason, he refers to the relic cases as safe harbours, and fountains with spiritual waters, and treasures that are unspendable. As harbours grant safety to ships, the martyrs' cases (or coffins) yield tranquility and safety to the soul of the one who visits them. Likewise, as refreshing fountains cool off the hot and tired body, the tombs of the saints cool the improper passions, desire, envy, and anger of the soul, and anything else that can destroy the soul. The power that emanates from these relic cases and tombs is so great, that the one who visits them is benefited by simply looking at them.⁹³

If the visitor "tears apart his conscience" (i.e. judging himself severely for his sins and for the improper desires that give rise to them), he imitates the martyrs who had their sides (i.e. flesh) torn apart

as proof of confession for their sins. In this manner, one escapes the awesome Judgement of Christ and the accompanying punishment.⁹⁴

For one to sit under the shade of a tree in close proximity to a martyr's tomb, and to have the time to relax and think about his sins as he encounters the great achievements of the martyr, evokes in him repentance. It is as if the martyr himself approaches the visitor, appearing to his eye of faith (i.e. the mind) as a pedagogue (παιδαγωγός) who inhibits all inappropriate pleasures from residing within him, and also erases all unruliness (σκιρτήματα) of the flesh.⁹⁵ Thus Chrysostom can state:

If you are to entertain yourself, walk in the gardens or beside a running river, or lake. Learn from the gardens, listen to the crickets that sing, visit the shrines of the martyrs where you will gain health of body and benefit of soul, and no harm will come to you. 96

It is safe for a Christian to visit these tombs because he finds in them the power of the martyr protecting him from the devil's snares. The martyr becomes, like Christ, a channel for his salvation, for by his example, he implores him to be reconciled to God.⁹⁷ As St. Paul puts it: "We are ambassadors therefore on behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating us, we beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God"(II Cor. 5:20).⁹⁸ Therefore, Christ grants man many opportunities for aid towards salvation,⁹⁹ as exemplified by the power that emanates from the tombs of those who imitated his death.¹⁰⁰ Whoever visits the martyrs' tombs is greatly rewarded because they evoke repentance in him which eventually leads to the

μεταβολῆς αἴτιον θεόν.

47. Ibid., col. 629,630.

Εἶδες πῶς ἀρίστη ἡ μετάστασις γέγονε; πῶς τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ἀσθενῇ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῇ ἰσχυρὰ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ θεός, ἐκατέρωθεν ἡμῖν δεικνὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν;

48. De S. Droside Marytre, PG 50, col. 685.

Μαρτύρων γὰρ θάνατος, πιστῶν ἐστὶ παράκλησις, Ἐκκλησιῶν παρρησία, Χριστιανισμοῦ σύστασις, θανάτου κατάλυσις, ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις, δαιμόνων γέλως, διαβόλου κατηγορία, φιλοσοφίας διδασκαλία, παραίνεσις τῆς ὑπεροφίας τῶν παρόντων, πραγμάτων, καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιθυμίας ὁδός, παραμυθία τῶν κατεχόντων ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, καὶ ὑπομονῆς πρόφασις, καρτερίας ἀφορμή, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ρίζα, καὶ πηγή, καὶ μήτηρ.

4. The martyr's soul

1. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 601.

Μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ εἰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀρχόμενος μάρτυρα τὸν ἅγιον ἐκάλεσα καὶ γὰρ οἰκείῳ τέλει τὴν ζωὴν κατέλυσεν πῶς οὖν ἐστὶ μάρτυς; Εἶπον πολλάκις πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, ὅτι μάρτυρα οὐχὶ ὁ θάνατος ποιεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γνώμης πλέκεται πολλάκις ὁ τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανος.

2. Ibid., col. 601.

Καὶ τοῦτον οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ Παῦλος δίδωσι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τὸν ὅρον οὕτως λέγων "καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω" (Α' Κορ. 15:31). Πῶς ἀποθνήσκεις καθ' ἡμέραν; Πῶς δυνατόν ἐνὶ σώματι θνητῷ μυρίους δεξασθαι θανάτους; Τῇ προθέσει, φησί, καὶ τῇ παρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τελευτήν.

3. Ibid. col. 601.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ μάρτυς (μάρτυρα γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξε) πρὸς μυρίους παρεσκευάσατο θανάτους, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπέμεινε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ.

and because the discussion presents a particular interest,
a longer extract might be cited here:

Excursions towards martyrs' tombs give satisfaction to the soul and the gain is great from this refreshment; not because we breathe fresh air, but because we see the achievements of those noble people. We do not leap near rivers with waters, instead we leap near rivers with graces. Not because we bend over towards the earth and cut grass with our teeth, but because we blossom forth with the martyrs' virtues. Not because we see the earth decorated with roses, but because we see bodies that yield spiritual charisms. Each shrine gives to all who gather there a great gain. And above all, before arriving at the martyrrium, one sees a multitude of coffins and wherever he turns his head, he will see tombs and bone cases of those who departed from this life. This scene contributes a lot to our philosophizing, because the soul, with this scene, if it is sluggish, (it) quickly comes to life. And if it is awake and with life, it becomes even more ready. Others will receive comfort if they mourn for their poverty. If one boasts for his riches, he will become humbled and reprimanded. The one who looks at the tombs is forced to philosophize (whether he likes to or not) for his end, and to learn not to consider this life as being something certain, neither as something good nor sad. And the one who realizes this, will not fall into sin's trap. This is why a certain wise man advised and said, 'In all thy matters remember thy last end, and thou shalt never do amiss' (Wisdom of Sirach 7:36). And another man says along with this man advises, 'Prepare thy work without, and make it ready for thee in the field; and afterwards, build thy house' (Prov. 24:27), meaning not the road that we see, but implying our departure. If we everyday uninterruptedly put in our mind our end which is uncertain when it will occur, we will not sin so easily. Because neither the joys of this life will be able to make us proud, nor the sad things of this life will be able to discourage and disturb us, since both of their ends is unknown. Therefore, if we stay in the city, it is not very natural for us to think about these things, and to also philosophize about them. However, when we go beyond the walls of the city, and come close to these graves, and see the multitude of all that have left, forcefully, whether we like it or not, this scene will make us think about these things; and with these thoughts, we ascend higher and we become delivered from having a liking for the earthly. And not only will we accept such reasonings, but we will also be induced to be vigorously concerned and mindful for our eternal country, and to prepare everything that we have for our journey there, knowing

that if we leave something of ours here, this will bring us harm. A similar thing can be said of a traveler who travels a long distance and is in a hurry to arrive in his country, and that which he leaves in the inn, he certainly has lost it and suffered harm from this action. The same applies to this situation. As many of our things that we leave behind us, we will be harmed as a result. This is why we should take other things with us and to send other things there (to our eternal country) ahead of us. Because this life is a road, and nothing remains here, we pass by the sad and the happy things of this life. This is why I love this place above all others, because not only with other people, but also I remember these words the many times that I came here alone. In the same manner, my eyes used to see the tombs around being quiet, in the farthest part of the desert, and they made my soul to fly towards the dead and towards that condition. For this exact reason I marvel at this noble father who took us on this peaceful day and brought us here, while St. Drosida walked in front of us and guided us, whose memory we celebrate. Because near to all that we have said, we can also be benefited from another greater gain from this place. In other words, when we pass by the other coffins and we arrive at the relic cases of the martyrs, our state of mind becomes loftier, our soul becomes stronger, our readiness becomes greater, and our faith warmer. In other words, if we think about their toils, and their contests, and their rewards, and their trophies, and their crowns, again we will find a greater motive for humility. If some one has achieved great things, he will think that he had not accomplished anything, when comparing his power with their (the martyrs') struggles. And if someone has not done anything great and good, he will not become discouraged about his salvation, since he will be moved towards virtue from their own courage. And thus the spectator will think inside of him that maybe the time will come when God's love towards man will make him also worthy to jump to such heights, and all at once to ascend into heaven and become worthy of that great freedom. One can be made able to philosophize about these things and many others and then leave from there. 105

In the De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, Chrysostom returns to the same theme as in the previous homily on St. Drosida. Here, he mentions that God does not permit the resurrection of the martyrs, so that He may use their relics as vehicles for granting man an opportunity to attain salvation. Through these relics,

God aids man not only to remember the martyrs but also to imitate them.¹⁰⁶ It is suggested that if man imitates the martyrs (who are exemplars of virtue), then he will also become virtuous. The martyrs' are not harmed from the delay of their resurrection, since their souls reside with God. If their bodies are not repaid now for the labours which they suffered for Christ, they will definitely be repaid later at the time of crowning. Consequently, God allows the martyrs' relics to remain on earth as a vehicle through which men receive great comfort, aid, and guidance towards salvation.¹⁰⁷ Relics, then, are a treasure which contains innumerable goods for man to harvest, and for this reason, God takes the martyrs' souls and gives mankind their relics.¹⁰⁸ As Chrysostom puts it the scene of the martyrs' tombs, coffins, and relics descends like fire into the spectator's thoughts, and invites him to enter the same contest.¹⁰⁹ Thus God permits the martyrs' relics to remain on earth until the final Resurrection of the Dead.¹¹⁰

In the homily In S. Julianum Martyrem, Chrysostom observes that Christianity remains firm because the heavenly martyrs have anchored it firmly through their holy relics. The martyrs' relics, he says, resemble roots which though planted in the earth do raise their branches to heaven yielding incorruptible, eternal, spiritual, and heavenly fruit. This fruit is given as an aid to the diseased, evokes saving repentance in a sinful soul, expells evil from among the people, and becomes a source for unceasing prayer. ¹¹¹

Therefore, from the moment that this body (of St. Julian) was planted in the earth, many have received much healing from this relic case (i.e.

his coffin) and the crop did not diminish. They reaped the ears of corn but they were unspent. They drew water from the fountains and the waters were not diminished; but they instead gushed forth uninterruptedly. They never stopped. This which it empties, it springs forth always much more in a miraculous manner. It does not only present miracles, but it also teaches us to philosophize. Even if you are rich and you are proud of yourself, and you have your soul wounded, when you come here and see the martyr and realize the difference between your riches and his inheritance, you will lower your egoism, you will lay aside your wound and you will leave with your soul being in total health. And if you think that you are poor and despised, when you come and see the riches of the martyr and you despise the material riches, you will depart being full of a great philosophy. And if you encounter accusation, and harm, and punishment, and when you also see that you never have suffered as much as this holy martyr, you will also take from here enough comfort. Have you seen the crops which have these trees? How unspendable they are? How spiritual? How they touch the soul itself? 112

Therefore, these spiritual crops are never lost by the farmers that reap them. 113

A similar point is made in the homily In S. Drosida Martyre. Once a spectator gazes at St. Drosida's relics, says St. John Chrysostom, he will be inspired to imitate her in martyrdom. Although before looking at these relics, the spectator might be unconscious and indifferent towards them and the Christian faith, after gazing at them, however, he acquires a lofty state of mind (ὑψηλότατον δέξῃ πρόνημα), hatred for debauchery, and an indifference for money, and if sickness and other sufferings distress him, he receives a great example of patience. 114 Thus, St. John describes St. Drosida's relics as a treasure more precious than any gold, more aromatic than any perfume, and rarer than any precious stone. Whatever cannot be obtained with riches and gold, can be granted by a martyr (such as St. Drosida) through his / her relics. 115

Likewise, in the II Homilia Dicta Postquam Reliquiae, Etc., Chrysostom notes that martyrs unceasingly grant benefits to the ones who venerate their relics. St. John makes this point in reference to a certain queen who embraced a martyr's relics in her arms out of faith and piety, and as a result, she received great instruction, blessings, and spiritual commerce from the martyr. (Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ φιλόχριστος αὕτη παρείπετο τοῖς λειψάνοις, συνεχῶς ἑφαπτομένη, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπισπώμενη, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι διδάσκαλος γινομένη τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ πνευματικῆς ἐμπορίας, καὶ διδάσκουσα πάντα ἄρύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ταύτης τῆς ἀεὶ μὲν ἀντλουμένης, οὐδέποτε δὲ κενομένης).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Chrysostom says that as fountains erupt with streams of water and have difficulty containing the water in their bosom, the same applies to relics, with one exception. Instead of water, relics abound plentifully with the grace of the Holy Spirit (καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ νάματα τῶν πηγῶν βρῦνται, οὐκ εἰσὼ τῶν οἰκείων κόλπων κατεχεται, ἀλλ' ὑπερβλύζει καὶ ὑπερχειῖται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἢ τοῖς ὁστέοις παρακαθημένη),¹¹⁷ and therefore, cohabit with holiness (καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις συνοικοῦσα).¹¹⁸

Chrysostom also explains how the relics were sanctified by God. He says that the grace and holiness of the Spirit moves from the soul of the martyrs to their bodies and then to their clothing. From their clothing, it spreads to their shoes, and finally, from their bodies and garments, it moves into the shadows that they cast (καὶ εἰς ἑτέροισι προείσι τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως ἑφεπομένους αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς εἰς σώματα, καὶ ἀπὸ σωμάτων εἰς ἱμάτια, καὶ ἀπὸ ἱματίων εἰς ὑποδήματα, καὶ ἀπὸ ὑποδη-

μάτων εἰς σκιάς ἐκτρέχει).¹¹⁹ This is the very reason, states St. John, why not only the relics and garments of the apostles worked miracles, but also their shadows. Their shadows worked even more powerful miracles towards the living, as illustrated by St. Peter (Διὰ τοι τοῦτο οὐ τὰ σώματα ἐνήργει μόνον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σουδάρια καὶ τὰ σιμικίνθια καὶ οὐ τὰ σουδάρια μόνον καὶ τὰ σιμικίνθια, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ σκιαί τοῦ Πέτρου τῶν ζώντων δυνατώτερα εἰργάζοντο).¹²⁰

Furthermore, it is easy to recognize someone who has venerated a saint's relics. According to Chrysostom, this person is readily recognized by his countenance, form, gait, feeling of piety and devotion, and by the collection of his thoughts. He is feeling all-fiery (πῦρ πνέοντα), shy (συνεσταλμένον), humble (συνετρισμένον), sober (νήφοντα), and lively (ἐγρηγορότα); furthermore, the movements of his body, and the proclamation of his philosophy (ἀνακηρύττοντα φιλοσοφίαν) distinguish him as someone who venerated a Saint's relics.¹²¹ Hence, St. John quotes Scripture to prove his point: "A man's attire, and grinning laughter, and gait, show what he is" (Wisdom of Solomon 19:30).¹²²

The power which the martyrs manifested through their relics was not something totally unique to the New Testament era, because Old Testament Saints revealed similar power through their relics. For example, Moses departed from Egypt, and he took nothing with him but the bones of Joseph, since within Joseph's bones, were hidden great and innumerable goods (θησαυρόν μεγίστον καὶ ὑπέρβιον γέμοντα ἀγαθῶν). Chrysostom regards this as proof that the righteous ones who lived before Christ's

Incarnation knew how to philosophize properly.¹²³

Joseph's bones were visible symbols of his continuous presence with the Israelites, and vehicles through which the Israelites received patience and hope of deliverance from future destruction.¹²⁴ In the final analysis, Joseph's relics were visible proof which guaranteed the Israelites that whatever the Divine Will determined, would certainly occur.¹²⁵

Chrysostom enthusiastically preached about the Martyrs and the great power which they manifest through their holy relics, as evident in the following extract from Chrysostom's homily In S. Phocam Martyrem.

I dance with the martyrs and I leap (for joy) looking at their trophy (i.e. their relics) instead of a place of waters. For they shed blood instead of springs. Their bones were wasted and yet their memory becomes younger day by day. For as it is impossible to put out the sun, likewise, you cannot blot out the memory of the martyrs. For as Christ ordained, 'Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away.' (MT 24:35).¹²⁶

3. The altars of Christ

Chrysostom suggests that the presence of a Saint's relics is essential for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. This single reference is made in the De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre, Homilia I.

According to Chrysostom, St. Pelagia's tomb is clothed with the dress of confession (ὁμολογίας). This is a double confession, one of virginity and martyrdom (τὴν τῆς παρθενίας καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου). With this dress for burial, her tomb represents the altar of Christ (μετὰ τούτων τῶν ἐνταφίων παραστήσεται

τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ).¹²⁷ The connection can be made between Chrysostom's statement and the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, because the Liturgy cannot be celebrated unless an altarcloth (ἀντιμῆνσιον) is present which contains relics.

THE SECONDARY NOTIONS OF MARTYRDOM

There are two secondary notions of martyrdom in Chrysostom's writings, other than the primary notion of the martyrdom of death. These are the martyrdom of asceticism (or martyrdom of life) and the martyrdom of virginity. In both cases, however, the notion of death is implicitly central, inasmuch as they are both life-disciplines aiming at the mortification of the passions of the flesh and the desires of the world. Chrysostom's works contain innumerable references to asceticism and virginity the examination of which is beyond the limits and scope of our present investigation. Here we shall confine our discussion of asceticism and virginity to those cases which link these notions with martyrdom. Before doing this, however, we need to say one word or two on these notions themselves in relation to one another. At first glance, the notion of virginity seems to come under the notion of asceticism. A closer look, however, reveals that this is not quite the case, because virginity does not necessarily imply asceticism, i.e. one may be a virgin but not necessarily live an ascetical life, although asceticism does imply virginity. A virgin is one who already lives in the sanctification of the Resurrection having first realized the death on the Cross in the mortification of the passions of the body and desires of the soul. This ideal of a Christian acquired greater significance when the persecutions of Christians ceased, and the early ideal of a Christian martyr was no longer readily applicable. Virginity emerged then as a very important way of imitating Christ's

martyrdom and eventually led to the rise of asceticism which realizes the aspirations of the martyrs in a life of inner death, i.e. death to the world and to sin. In view of the above, we shall keep our discussion of the martyrdoms of virginity and asceticism separate, although we realize that they are interrelated as we explained.

a. Martyrdom of asceticism

Chrysostom says that although the persecutions have ceased to punish the Church, opportunities for martyrdom still exist. On this point, he quotes St. Paul saying: "Those who wish to live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution" (II Tim. 3:12).¹ In other words, Chrysostom is referring to a life of martyrdom, i.e. the ascetic life. An ascetic is one who always strives to live a godly life against passion and desire. According to Chrysostom, the people who live godly lives are always suffering persecutions, if not from men, certainly from the evil spirits, which is a more grievous persecution. He also mentions that the evil spirits induce a person to live at ease (ἀνεσσεως) which makes the soul languid (χαλνοῖ). Living at ease induces sleep in the soul and consequently, stirs up the passions on every side (τὰ πάθη διεγείρει παντοθεν). It arms pride (τῦφον), pleasure (ἡδονήν), anger (θυμὸν), envy (βασκανίαν), vainglory (κενοδοξίαν), and jealousy (ζῆλον). But during the times of the persecutions, fear (φόβος) prevented ease from setting in the soul, since everyone was trying to save their soul.² For these reasons it is necessary to

live a spiritual life (i.e. the ascetical life) in order not to render eternal destruction to the soul.

St. John mentions that suffering death for Christ's sake is not the only means of martyrdom. He says, there is always opportunity for martyrdom if man keeps his eyes open (ἐὰν νήφωμεν) and remains alert. If death is the sole criterion for martyrdom, then Job and those like him, will be excluded from martyrdom's crown. For example, Job did not suffer a violent death; yet he suffered worse than many martyrs. For Job received his crown by wrestling with every kind of suffering possible. Many have been able to bear physical punishment but not the loss of their goods and family members.

Therefore, Job suffered another method of martyrdom (ἕτερος πάλιν μαρτυρίου τρόπος), which also entails giving one word of thanksgiving to God such as "Blessed be God", instead of blaspheming God. And Job who offered this thanksgiving, received in return more than he had lost (Ὅταν μάθης, ὅτι πλείονα κερδανεῖς ὢν ἀπώλεσας δι' ἑνὸς ῥήματος τοῦ τῆς εὐχαριστίας. Ἄν γὰρ ἀκούσαντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν μὴ ταραχθῶμεν ἀλλ' εἰπωμεν, εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, πολλῶ πλείονα πλοῦτον εὗρηκαμεν).

Chrysostom states that whoever offers this thanksgiving, will be proclaimed a victor and made worthy to stand in the company of Abraham and Job. Furthermore, if the courageous person who suffers misfortune arouses those who mourn and wail (for their misfortune) into singing glory to God, then that courageous person shall receive innumerable rewards from both above and below, men admiring, angels applauding, and God crowning him.³

Even mortality is not an obstacle to the achieve-

ment of excellence or virtue. If mortality was an obstacle, then Paul could not have said, "I die everyday" (I Cor. 15:31). St. John says that Paul was mortal (θνητός), a common man (ἰδιώτης), poor and worked everyday for his nourishment. He possessed a human body with all of the natural requirements, but these did not hinder him from becoming a great ascetic and martyr of the Church. Chrysostom does note however, that the only obstacle towards asceticism and virtue, is an evil soul (κακία ψυχῆς) and a weak will (μαλακία γνώμης).⁴

Chrysostom's interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians 3:5 shows that the soul remains impassible when one mortifies his members from the passions. Chrysostom explains that it is impossible to stand by the heavenly throne without mortifying the bodily organs. As Chrysostom says, "there is nothing there (in heaven) for them to work on" (οὐκ ἐνὶ γὰρ ἑκεῖ, εἰς ὃ ἐνεργεῖν δεῖ). In other words, the objects which cause the passions to arise do not exist in heaven, where (as it will be discussed later) only the virtues exist and abound. The body in its present state of corruption must clothe itself with incorruption (I Cor. 15:53) before entering into the Kingdom of Heaven. This can only be achieved through mortification.

Chrysostom continues the previous discussion by making a careful scrutinization of Colossians 3:5, which states that the Christian should try to mortify his members which are "upon the earth". His interpretation of St. Paul is that the passions should be fought "upon the earth" (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), because they

are of this world. Paul is not advising man to mortify his members which are "of the earth" (ἀπὸ γῆς). It is not necessary for the bodily organs to remain on the earth since man is not of this world. Chrysostom is suggesting this as proof for the necessity of asceticism.

Therefore, in the In Epist. Ad Coloss. Caput III, Homilia VIII, Chrysostom stresses the importance for the senses to refrain from perceiving stimuli, which are of this world, and to remain receptive to those things (the virtues) which are of heaven. If the desire of the flesh is subdued through mortification, then the body's members become not of those things which are "upon the earth" but of those in the heavens.⁶ Likewise, it is also said that if something alive is cut into, it produces pain. However, if something dead is cut into, then no pain is felt. The same holds true with the passions. They make the soul which is clean and immortal, unclean and passible.⁷ Therefore, through mortification, the passions are put to death and they can be easily and painlessly removed.

Mortification is also important because God must be worshipped in spirit. Chrysostom explains that in the New Dispensation, the "reasonable service" (λογικὴ λατρεία; Rom. 12:1) offered to God is made only through the soul and the spirit. In order to worship God in spirit and in truth (JN 4:24), neither bodies, nor instruments, nor special places for sacrifice are required since each person himself is a priest. This type of worship is conducted through moderation (τὰ δὲ ἔστιν οἷον ἐπιείκεια), temperance (σωφροσύνη),

mercifulness (ἐλεημοσύνη), endurance of ill torment (ἀνεξικακία), long suffering (μακροθυμία), and humbleness of mind (ταπεινοφροσύνη),⁸ all of which have been foreshadowed in the Old Testament.⁹ Through mortification, God is worshipped in spirit and the soul and flesh of the ascetic / martyr becomes a whole burnt-offering (ὅλοκαύτωμα) unto God, that has a great savour and a sweet smell.¹⁰

It has been said in the homily In Epist. Ad Hebraeos Caput VI Homil. XI that by mortification and crucifixion of the body, the crown of this martyrdom (i.e. asceticism) is received (λήψη καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου τούτου τὸν στεφάνον). Chrysostom states that what in the other case (i.e. martyrdom by death) a sword accomplishes, in this case readiness (προθυμία) effects. In other words, an ascetic shows constant readiness to surrender his life for Christ, by mortifying his flesh to the passions and desires. The things of this world are insignificant to him when compared to an eternity with Christ. Material possessions and offerings are called an "unreasonable appetite" (ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτῆς ἡ ἄτοπος); and this impropriety should be consumed and quenched by the fire of the spirit (τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ πνεύματος) and cut to pieces by the sword of the Holy Spirit (καὶ κατακοπτεσθῶ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος). According to Chrysostom, asceticism is a good sacrifice (θυσία καλὴ) of the spirit.¹¹

The ascetical life in the In Joannem Homilia LXXIV al. LXXIII, is described as a living sacrifice (θυσία ζῶσα) that neither ends in ashes nor is dispersed in smoke. It neither requires wood, nor knife, nor fire,

since it has both as knife and fire the Holy Spirit.¹²

God does not require the quantity of the offering, but only the measure of the will (οὐ γὰρ ποσότης εἰσφορᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ μέτρα γνώμης καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ κηδεμονίας) of the offerer.¹³

The ascetical life is a life of sacrifice, for in Chrysostom's opinion, the flame of the passions is extinguished and the virtues are wholeheartedly sought. Chrysostom discusses that after death, no one will take with him into the next life the material things which are corruptible (Ps. 48:17-18 or 49:17-18).¹⁴ Only those things which are incorruptible, i.e. the virtues, will be taken there.

The treasure which is comprised of virtues and almsgiving will be taken into the next life by its possessor, since they cannot be diminished (Ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄσυχλος οὗτος ὁ θησαυρός). Chrysostom quotes the Prophet David saying that the righteousness of those who practice almsgiving, will last forever (Ps. 111:9 or 112:9). Therefore, that which is gathered and saved in human vaults is endangered and easily lost by ill-disposed people, who are filled with envy (φθόνος) and jealousy (βασκανία), while that which is scattered (almsgiving) readily endures forever.¹⁵

Those that live the ascetical life receive a crown for their contempt over all material goods (ὁ τῆς τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων ὑπεροψίας).¹⁶ On this point, Chrysostom refers to the Gospel of Matthew which states: "And everyone that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands,

for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and shall inherit eternal life"(MT 19:29).¹⁷

The friends of God (the ascetic / martyr) who denied everything of this world for Him (Heb. 11:37-38),¹⁸ lived an afflicted and laborious life, and one filled with innumerable evils. Therefore, Chrysostom instructs his congregation that they should also follow the example of God's friends and not seek a rich and comfortable life. On the contrary, they should sacrifice luxury and strive for a life filled with torments (ἐπίμοχθον), labours (ἐπίπονον), sorrows (θλίψεις), and hardships (ταλαιπωρίας).¹⁹ This is the case, since a person who contests with sleep (δι' ὕπνου), laziness (ῥαθυμίας) and luxury (τρυφῆς) cannot achieve the crowns, similar to a soldier who cannot achieve trophies, neither a captain obtain safe arrival into a harbour.²⁰ A faithful person cannot be worthy of the goods (ἀγαθὰ) that God promised him if he passes his life indifferently.²¹ The type of person which passes his life indifferently cannot be worthy of heaven, the angelic honours, a life everlasting, a life equal to the angels, and acquire the goods that no one could ever think of or speak about.²²

Chrysostom demonstrates in his writings pertaining to the secondary notion of martyrdom by asceticism, that the virtues are the proper sacrifices which an ascetic offers to God. The life of an ascetic is a life that constantly strives towards virtue since the flesh is mortified to the world. In this discussion, Chrysostom draws a contrast between the virtues of the ascetic and the blood sacrifices of the Jews.

In the homily In Isaiam Caput I, St. John says that it was God's intention for the Jews to offer blood sacrifices to God as a great apology (ἀπολογία) for their lack of virtue. However, the Jews deviated from God's plan and became oriented towards the flesh and sought man's glory instead of God's. Here St. John notes that the prophets argued against the Jews' deviation from God's plan, by making it clear to the Jews that the sacrificial provisions were only for pedagogical purposes, and not ends in themselves. Examining the situation further, St. John points out that God would have accepted the Jews' sacrifices if their will (γνώμην) and disposition (διάθεσιν) were oriented towards virtue.²³

According to Chrysostom, God realized that the Jews could not understand the true purpose for offering blood sacrifices and thus, he abolished the slaughter of animals. It is stated that all animals are God's to begin with; hence He does not benefit from their slaughter²⁴ for no reason at all. If God wanted blood sacrifices, He would have prepared innumerable sacrifices for Himself with the aid of the entire world which He created.²⁵ Furthermore, the Jews disregarded God's actions and continued sacrificing without benefiting from His condescension (i.e. instruction for the real purpose of blood sacrifices) because He spoke to them in a material and human voice saying: "If I hunger, will I not tell you?" (Ps. 49:12 or 50:12).²⁶ Chrysostom adds a word of caution saying that these sacrifices in themselves must not be accused of being inefficacious in appeasing God. The Jews' sacrifices were not acceptable to God because of their cunningness

(of will), and they were offered with impure hands. Their sacrifices were rejected by God because they committed adultery (ἐμοίχευον), robbery (ἔκλεπτον), and slander towards their brethren (ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπεβούλευον). Hence, the efficacy of this pedagogical method of sacrifice (i.e. to guide the Jews towards virtue) depended not only upon the will and disposition of the sufferer, but also upon his worthiness.²⁷ The ascetic, however, is the one who offers the acceptable sacrifice to God as Chrysostom states in the

Expositio In Psalmum CVIII. The ascetic's sacrifice entails offering God hymns (ὕμνολογίαν), thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν), praise (αἶνον), and proclaiming to everyone God's achievements (τὸ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν αὐτοῦ τὰ κατορθώματα), and preaching among mankind the goods that one has received from God (τὸ ἐν μέσῳ θεάτρου κήρυκα γίνεσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπαρξάντων ἀγαθῶν).

In addition, this sacrifice also entails constantly remembering God's beneficence (τὸ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ διαπαντός ἐπὶ μνήμῃς φέρειν), and proclaiming His beneficence to others (καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος ἀνακηρύττειν, καὶ πολλοὺς ποιεῖν ἀκουστάς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ).²⁸

In other words, the acceptable sacrifice to God is a sacrifice of praise or doxology. The ascetic offers this sacrifice to God throughout his entire life.

Chrysostom also mentions the sacrifice of praise (θυσίαν αἰνέσεως) in the Expositio In Psalmum XLIX.

Here he refers to this sacrifice as the "medicine of the best healing" (ἰατρείας ἀρίστης εἶδος).²⁹ This is the best medicine which heals the soul since it involves

offering thanksgiving (εὐχαριστίας), holy hymns (ὕμνων ἱερῶν), and doxology for God's deeds (τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων δοξολογίας),³⁰ where doxology is nothing more than praise, glory, and good fame (αἶνος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἑπαινος ἐστί, δόξα καὶ εὐφημία).³¹

Chrysostom mentions that if a person's entire life is a doxology to the Lord, then he offers a complete sacrifice (Ἐστω τοίνυν ὁ βίος σου τοιοῦτος, ὥστε εὐφημεῖσθαι σου τὸν Δεσπότην, καὶ ἀπηρτισμένην εἰσάγαγες τὴν θυσίαν).³² This is the case since the proper way to worship God is not by smoke and by the smell of burning meat (καὶ γὰρ τὸν θεὸν οὐ διὰ καπνοῦ καὶ κνίσης), but with an ascetical life, which is always perfect and spiritual (ἀλλὰ διὰ πολιτείας ἀρίστης καὶ ἁσώματος).³³ Hence, Chrysostom is suggesting that the ascetical life is a perfect doxology to God. This is what Christ (MT 5:6), Paul (Rom. 12:1), Job (Job 1:21), and David (Ps. 8:30-32 or 69:30-32)³⁴ taught.

Further elucidation about the sacrifice of praise is offered in the Expositio In Psalmum CL. In this instance, it is also said that praising God continuously (αἰνῶμεν τοίνυν τὸν θεὸν διηνεκῶς) is the ascetics true sacrifice and offering (θυσία καὶ προσφορά) to God. This is the best liturgy (λειτουργία ἀρίστη) which resembles that of the angelic citizens. And if an ascetic persists to sing praises unto God (ἁνυμνοῦντες), he will complete his present life with ease, and he will also enjoy the future goods (ἀγαθῶν) that await him in heaven.³⁵

A similar definition is given for the sacrifice of praise in the Expositio In Psalmum CXV. In his

exposition on Psalm 115, Chrysostom defines this sacrifice as the greatest offering (μέγιστη προσφορά) which requires an ascetic to give thanks (εὐχαριστήσω), sing hymns (ὕμνησω), and invoke the name of the Lord (ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἐπικαλέσομαι) for help and guidance. Some of the great ascetics such as Job, Paul, and Jacob preached publically according to this manner.³⁶

Further exposition about the sacrifice of praise is made in the In Caput I Genes. Homilia IX. Here Chrysostom suggests that the ascetic also offers God praise and thanksgiving for His beneficence, by living a life of virtue. In this manner, he shows God that he desires the spiritual things above the material ones.³⁷ Offering God praise also aids the ascetic to understand his insignificance before God, and the inexpressible and incomprehensible love that God has for him (τὴν ἄφατον καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν). God benefits him by "confining his thoughts (συστελλεται τὴν διάνοιαν), breaking to pieces the logic (συντρίβεται τὸν λογισμόν), restraining every delusion and mindless condition (πάντα τυφόν καὶ ἀπονοίαν καταστελλει), teaching him modesty (μετριοῦν μανθάνει) and hatred for the glory of the present life (ὑπερορᾶν τῆς δόξης τοῦ παρόντος βίου), and indifference for all of the earthly goods (καταγελᾶν πάντων τῶν ὀρωμένων), and God aids the ascetic to think of the goods of the future life that has no end (φανταζεσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀτελεύτητον).³⁸ Through praise, the ascetic simultaneously offers another sacrifice to God. This is the true and desirable sacrifice (ἀληθὴ καὶ ἐπέραιστον)

which entails offering "a broken spirit, and a broken and utterly crushed heart" (Ps. 5:17).³⁹

Whoever is truly humble, neither deviates towards anger nor becomes enraged towards his neighbour, because he has a peaceful soul that examines its ownself.⁴⁰

St. Babylas the Hieromartyr prior to embracing death for Christ's sake, lived an ascetical life and was an exemplar of humility. St. John recalls that when St. Babylas was cast into jail, he felt joy for his bonds and sorrow for the judge who passed sentence on him for execution. According to St. John, Babylas had hoped that the emperor Decius, who was reigning emperor at the time of his martyrdom, would not have fallen into the sin of persecuting Christians like himself. St. Babylas rather had hoped to lose the praise that he received from his bonds (i.e. martyrdom) instead of having the king fall into sin. This is true because the Saints, do not want to be involved in the evil occurring to their own people.⁴¹ Furthermore in their humility, the Saints are also economical. In other words, they demonstrate their power for no other reason than to direct man towards salvation.⁴²

Once having said this, Chrysostom also states that the ascetic also offers prayer to God as a gift and sacrifice (δῶρον καὶ θυσίαν).⁴³ In saying this, Chrysostom agrees with David who said: "Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the most high" (Ps. 49:14 or 50:14),⁴⁴ and "Let my prayer be set forth as incense before thee. The lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice" (Ps. 140:2 or 141:2).⁴⁵

The ascetic prays for three things. The first of these is that he prays for his enemies. The second thing he prays for, is deliverance from the evil one ('Ρῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ) and destruction of satan (Rom. 16:20) - his irreconcilable foe (ὁ ἀκατάλλακτος ἐχρὸς). It is satan who breeds all of the enemies of mankind, i.e. the passions and desires, etc. ⁴⁶ The third thing he prays for is for his daily sustenance, which is in accordance to Christ's instruction (MT 6:11) and Jacob's vow (Gen. 28:20). ^{46a}

In the Expositio In Psalmum CXL, it is specified that prayer is good by itself. However, it becomes better and more fragrant when it is recited with a warm and fiery soul, which in turn ignites a powerful fire that acts as a strong censer. Chrysostom states that logically, incense is not placed on top of a grill unless the grill has been lighted beforehand. Similarly, the ascetic warms his thoughts beforehand with readiness and with a good disposition before proceeding to prayer (οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ καλὴ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καλλίων δὲ καὶ εὐωδεστέρα γίνεται ὅταν μετὰ θερμῆς καὶ ζεούσης ψυχῆς ἀναφέρηται, ὅταν θυμιατήριον ἡ ψυχὴ γένηται καὶ πῦρ ἀνάπτη σφοδρόν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ θυμίαμα τῆς ἐσχάρας μὴ πραναφθείσης ἐπιτίθετο, ἢ τῶν ἀνθράκων μὴ δικαιομένων. Τοῦτο καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῆς διανοίας ποίησον πρότερον ἀναψὼν αὐτὴν τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ τότε ἐπιτίθει τὴν εὐχὴν). ⁴⁷

Chrysostom refers to the Psalmist who said that his prayer became like incense and the lifting up of his hands as an evening sacrifice. God, he says, accepts both the tongue and the hands as sacrifice if they are clean and uninfected. The hands must be clean from

greed for they extend to God as His servants and they direct that spiritual sacrifice, and the tongue must also be delivered from evil words. This is the case since they shall both offer holiness and praises to God.⁴⁸ He also mentions that man's soul acting as a censer is presented to a spiritual altar which is more precious than an altar made of copper or gold. On the latter altar, the building material is lifeless; but in the former, resides God and man is a member of the Body of Christ.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the ascetic offers another spiritual sacrifice which is acceptable to God, i.e. a sacrifice of righteousness (θυσίαν δικαιοσύνης).⁵⁰ A sacrifice of righteousness as defined in the Expositio In Psalmum IV is to practice righteousness (δικαιοσύνην μετέρχεσθε) and to offer righteousness (δικαιοσύνην προσφέρετε).⁵¹ This is a great gift and an acceptable sacrifice (τοῦτο μέγιστον τῷ θεῷ δῶρον, αὕτη θυσία δεκτὴ), and one pleasing to God (αὕτη προσφορὰ πολλὴν ἔχουσα τὴν ἀρεσκίαν), for it entails doing justice (δίκαια πράττειν).⁵²

Chrysostom also suggests that asceticism is in accordance with the Church's policy (τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν πολιτείαν), which seeks the intelligent things, i.e. virtues, instead of the sensible ones (ἀντὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐκείνων τὰ νοητὰ ζητούμενα). Thus he says that righteousness is not just any partial virtue, but the entire virtue (οὐ τὴν μερικὴν ἀρετὴν φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν καθόλου).⁵³ Also the ascetic is called only when he has in himself the entire virtue. Neither money, nor knives, nor an altar, nor fire is required

to perform this type of sacrifice. A sacrifice of righteousness is neither dissolved into smoke nor into ashes and smell; but it is restricted to the will of the one who offers it (ἄλλ' ὀρκεῖται τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ προσάγοντος αὐτήν).⁵⁴ This sacrifice cannot be inhibited by poverty or by location; hence, it can be offered anywhere and under any circumstances. In this instance, the person offering it is the priest, altar, knife, and victim. The intelligent and spiritual (νοερά καὶ πνευματικά) things are of such a nature that they are much easier to perform since they do not require any external facility.⁵⁵

We now turn our attention to love which St. John regards as a unique sacrifice and virtue of an ascetic. St. John says that love is the mother of all goods (ἀγαθῶν μήτηρ πάντων), the distinctive mark of all of the disciples (τὸ τῶν μαθητῶν γνώρισμα), and that which above all holds all of mankind together (καὶ ἡ πάντα συνεχούσα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, αὕτη μάλιστα πάντων ἐστίν). In the In Matthaeum Homilia XVI, St. John mentions that Christ gives this commandment (i.e. to love) in order to sever the very nerves of the devil (ὁ Χριστὸς τὰ νεῦρα τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἐκκόπτων, τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἰσήγαγε).⁵⁶ Furthermore, love is the greatest sacrifice (ταύτην μεγίστην ἡγεῖται εἶναι τὴν θυσίαν) and one greatly honoured by Christ (ὅτι πολλοῦ τιμᾶται τὴν ἀγάπην). Christ honours the ascetic who offers this spiritual sacrifice, since he is reconciled towards his neighbour (i.e. he loves his neighbour, ἐπὶ καὶ τοῦτο θυσία, ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καταλλαγή; MT 5:23-24).⁵⁷ While love unites the members of Christ's

Church, jealousy (βασκανία) separates them. Jealousy which is a harsh difficult illness to heal (τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο τὸ χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσίατον), can only be cured by feeling joy, as the ascetics who live in virtue (ἐν ἀρετῇ βιοῦσιν).⁵⁸

Love above all the other virtues, especially brings one close to God; the other virtues are lower in priority (δεικνὺς ὅτι αὕτη μάλιστα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ ὡς αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ταύτης καταδεεστέραι).⁵⁹ According to Chrysostom in the De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia III, love is what man and God have in common (τὸ δὲ φιλεῖν, τοῦτο κοινὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ).⁶⁰ Chrysostom explains that it is exactly because of this unifying factor of love, the most famous of all goods (κεφάλαιον ὃν τῶν ἀγαθῶν), that Christ commanded for man to love his enemies, so that he may become a son of His Father in heaven (MT 5:44-45).⁶¹

St. John refers to St. Paul, the great ascetic and martyr, as the perfect example of someone who loved all of mankind and felt no animosity towards his persecutors. Paul only thought how his persecutors were also men and this caused him to have even more pity on their rage. Chrysostom remarks that just like a father feels great sorrow towards his son who is captured by some type of craziness, and consequently curses and strikes back at his father, Paul also thought that his enemies operated with demons as their leaders, and therefore, felt even greater love for them.⁶² Similar to iron falling in the fire and becoming all fire, likewise, Paul became inflamed in the fire of love and became all love.⁶³

According to St. John, Paul named love the fulfillment of the law and a connection with perfection, and the mother of all goods, and the beginning and end of all virtue (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλήρωμα αὐτὴν ἐκάλει νόμου, καὶ σύνδεσμον τελειότητος, καὶ μητέρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν πάντων, καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἀρετῆς).⁶⁴ Indeed, this is true, for Chrysostom believes that all of the commandments are summed up in this statement: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Rom. 13:9).⁶⁵ Paul received the whole crown, i.e. of martyrdom, (κτῆσαι τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν Παύλου, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἕξαις ἀπηρτισμένον),⁶⁶ because of his great love for Christ and his fellow man. St. John likens love to a superior road. He says that Paul followed this road throughout his entire life (τὴν καλλίστην ὁδὸν καὶ ῥαδίαν; I Cor. 12:31).⁶⁷

Not only St. Paul, but Job also followed the life of virtue. It seems that Chrysostom regards Job as Paul's counterpart in the Old Testament. Job was the exemplar of virtue in his day and offered his entire life as a service to God. It becomes obvious through Chrysostom's description of Job, that when one fights against excellence, it only becomes stronger.⁶⁸ Since Job exhibited so much virtue, Chrysostom named him a contestant of piety and victor of the ecumene (ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνιστῆς, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης στεφανίτης). Chrysostom discusses Job's life saying that he used prosperity and misfortune as weapons to erect a prize, and that he also directly confronted and defeated the devil in every battle.⁶⁹

Therefore, Job's entire life became a martyrdom for Christ. Job was a noble athlete, who suffered all of the

temptations, namely poverty (πενίᾱς), hunger (λιμοῦ), illness (νόσου), pain (ὀδύνης), loss of children (παίδων ἀπωλείας), loss of friends (ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων), loss of enemies (τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν), loss of spouse (ἀπὸ τῆς γυναίκος), and loss of servants (τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν). Nevertheless, he jumped over the net and traps of the devil.⁷⁰

Job never enjoyed the comfort of resting from his toils. He was continuously confronted with evils;⁷¹ and his great patience could be seen through his suffering. Chrysostom figuratively spoke about Job's intense toils and stated that the harbour became a high reef, medicine turned into wounds, and comfort turned into additional pain. Even at night when most found comfort, Job could not (Job 7:4). Whenever it was evening, Job yearned for the day because during the evening he was haunted with frightening dreams (Job 7:14).⁷²

Despite his anguish, Job maintained his faith in God and he defeated the devil by not blaspheming God. Chrysostom regards Job as the exemplar of the highest (ἀκρότατον) of all virtues, patience (ὑπομονή).⁷³ Undoubtedly in Chrysostom's mind, Job reached the height not only of patience, but of every virtue.⁷⁴

In Chrysostom's opinion, it appears that Job is the prototype of the victorious athlete in the Old Testament. It is obvious in the seven panegyric homilies devoted by Chrysostom to the Apostle to the Gentiles, that St. Paul tremendously surpassed Job in every excellence. While Job suffered (ἐπάσχευ) in body, Paul suffered in his soul as well. Chrysostom affirms the truth of this statement, because the sorrow

for whoever was scandalized, ate away at Paul's soul worse than any worm could possibly have done.⁷⁵

Chrysostom says that Paul lived this struggle for the sake of Christ for years and not for several months as Job. Paul struggled with thousands of temptations (πειρασμοῖς) and remained sturdier than a rock. Job's deeds benefited the bodies of those whom he helped, but Paul's deeds aided the infected souls (τὴν ψυχὴν λελωβημένους ἔπραττε) of his people and also aided the lame and mutilated. Chrysostom continues by saying that Paul dressed the naked and the disgraced with the dress of faith (περιβάλλων τῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας στολῇ). While Job's house was always open to anyone seeking refuge, Paul's soul was spread over the entire ecumene and it henceforth received entire nations.⁷⁶

Not only did St. Paul surpass Job in virtue and nobility, but his entire life and manner of living also towered above the sacrifice that Abel offered to God. Chrysostom explains Paul's superior sacrifice to that of Abel. He states that Paul died everyday and not simply once like Abel. Paul carried around the mortification (νέκρωσιν) that was inside his body, and by using his free will to offer himself, Paul mortified the nature of his body to such an extent, that it resembled slaughtered animals (σφαγιαζομένων ἐρίων) for sacrifice. Chrysostom also regards Paul's sacrifice as a continuous one, since he suffered daily.⁷⁷ Paul died a thousand deaths (μυρίους ἡρίθμησα θανάτους) in his entire life.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Paul offered himself upon the altar above the heavens (θυσιαστήριω προσήγαγε τῷ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν) by using the sword of

the Holy Spirit (μαχαίραν τοῦ Πνεύματος).⁷⁹

Paul endlessly served the Bridegroom of Christ (τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ νύμφης). He endured the heat of the day, the cold of the night, and an endless rain of temptations. As he crucified himself to the world (ἐσταύρωσεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ), he did not suffer any human tragedy needlessly.⁸⁰

Chrysostom indicated that Paul's suffering had a universal significance. He says that Paul desired to be deprived of the boundless glory of God in order for others to be saved. He fought with the devil everyday and defeated his temptations. As a result, he was covered by blood and not by sweat (αἵματι ἀντὶ ἰδρώτος πάντοθεν περιρρεόμενος).⁸¹

Paul gladly welcomed all hardships and offences for the sake of Christ. According to St. John, only during the times when he was weak, was he in reality strong (II Cor. 12:10).⁸² All of the dangers that Paul encountered, were labelled as weapons of righteousness (ὅπλα δὲ αὐτὰ δικαιοσύνης). It was because of these dangers that Paul received great benefits and was invincible against his enemies (τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πάντοθεν ἀχειρώτος ἦν).⁸³ Chrysostom considers Paul's punishments as victories and triumphs, since he knows God always led Paul to triumph in Christ (II Cor. 2:14).⁸⁴

Chrysostom affirms that the only thing Paul feared was to transgress God's law.⁸⁵ For this reason, he mentions that Paul preferred Christ's love above all else. He preferred to be between the last and the damned and to have the love of Christ, than to be among the first and the honourable without Christ's love.

It was hell, punishments, and innumerable evils to be deprived of this love.⁸⁶ Christ's love for St. Paul, according to St. John, meant "life (ζωή), the world (κόσμος), angel (ἄγγελος), present (παρόντα), future (μέλλοντα), kingdom (βασιλεία), promise (ἐπαγγελία), and innumerable goods (μυρία ἀγαθὰ)".⁸⁷ Separation from Christ was an anathema (ἀνάθεμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσθαι), a struggle (ἀγών), and a great pain (πόνος) for Paul, while remaining with Christ was a reward.⁸⁸ In conclusion, Chrysostom states that Paul preferred Christ's love above heaven and all of its possessions. If this is the case, then Christ who is much greater will prefer Paul to dwell with Him.⁸⁹ And in order to receive Christ's great love and reward, Paul lived a life of virtue.

It appeared that mortality was not a hindrance to achieve theosis despite of all of the difficulties it presented St. Paul. Paul possessed a mortal body (σωματι θνητῷ συνδεδεμένος) nevertheless, he showed an angelic purity (τὴν ἐκείνων καθαρότητα ἐπεδείκνυτο). He had many human needs, but he struggled not to show himself lower than the heavenly powers.⁹⁰

St. John states that he does not exalt Paul so much in order to diminish the angels in honour. However, he wants to demonstrate how it is possible for man to be with angels and to greatly resemble them.⁹¹ This can be accomplished only by mortification to all of the passions and by living a life of virtue.

Paul's virtuous life was devoted to the ministry of the Gospel. Therefore, Paul healed, consoled the distressed, he frightened the demons, he corrected sinners

with words and deeds, he awakened the apathetic and became fierce towards the adversaries of Christianity.⁹²

"Like a first class doctor (or soldier)", Paul carried the yoke and shield of Christ; he also greatly protected and defended the Gospel during his ministry.⁹³

In the last analysis, Chrysostom remarks that St. Paul considered only one thing which man should be ashamed of, and that was to be indifferent towards something for his salvation.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Chrysostom says that when someone lives this present life with excellence and with the hope of the future goods, only then can ~~be~~ justifiable^y say along with St. Paul that "to live in the flesh is much better" (Philip. 1:22), since this is a crop (i.e. a reward) for his toils.⁹⁵

Although Chrysostom had the highest admiration for St. Paul as an ascetic and martyr, he also demonstrated great respect for his friend and teacher Bishop Diodore of Tarsus (and later of Antioch). Chrysostom showed his respect for St. Diodore when he delivered the panegyric homily In Diodorum Tarsenum in Diodore's presence.

St. Diodore did not die a martyr's death, but it is evident from this panegyric homily that he was a living martyr, i.e. he lived an ascetical life.⁹⁶

Chrysostom's praise of Diodore is based on Diodore's self inflicted mortifications ^{more} than his sufferings for the faith. For this reason, Chrysostom says that Diodore was beheaded many times, if not in reality, then definitely by his will (ἄλλὰ καὶ οὗτος πολλάκις τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσε διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως παρρησίαν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπειρμήθη διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ πείρᾳ, ἀλλὰ

τῇ προθέσει. Οὐ γὰρ φέροντες οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροὶ τὴν
τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, μίρας πάντοθεν ἑρῶπτον
ἐπιβουλάς).⁹⁷

b. Martyrdom of virginity

Chrysostom considers virginity as a type of martyrdom as it becomes evident in his panegyrical homilies: De Sancta Thecla Martyre, and De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia I, and De SS Bernice Et Prosdoce.

In the first instance, Chrysostom notes that the youthful St. Thecla offered to God first her virginity and then her martyrdom.¹ He clearly states that her virginity was a great martyrdom preceding her martyrdom by death (μέγα τι πρὸ μαρτυρίου μαρτύριον).² Thus she obtained two crowns, one over the pleasureable thoughts that assaulted her (i.e. for being chaste) and another over her disregard for danger.³ In the last analysis, however, St. Thecla defeated the devil who, like an infernal suitor (μνηστήρα), instigated a twofold assault on her virginity and on her life.⁴ In order to prove that virginity was a sort of martyrdom for St. Thecla, Chrysostom describes the temptations of sexual promiscuity especially at an early age. The fire of pleasure, he says, meets the other fire of sexual desire, therefore, making the furnace of temptation even greater. At an early age this temptation is constant and therefore it is even more difficult for a young person to meet the demanding standards of virtue. Hence, the pleasures which constantly assaulted St. Thecla turned her virginity into an uninterrupted martyrdom (ἀ δὲ πάντα τῇ μακαρίᾳ παρθένῳ μακρόν τι μαρτύριον τὴν παρθενίαν εἰλάξετο),⁵ particularly as she was not impeded in maintaining her chastity.

St. John points out that St. Thecla battled with the pleasures as the martyrs battled with the beasts (πικτενύουσα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὡς ὁ μάρτυς θηρίοις).⁶ Furthermore, she struggled with thoughts (λογισμοῖς) as the martyrs struggled in the prisons.⁷ The conceptions of pleasure (φιληδονίας ἐννοίας) assaulted her similarly to the punishments of an executioner.⁸ Satan attempted to injure her soul through her senses, and tried to destroy her state of virginity by tormenting her with invisible instruments continuously day and night. It was, says Chrysostom, as if the devil was flagellating St. Thecla's thought (διανοίαν) with the heavy whip of desire.⁹ Nevertheless, the God-fearing virgin triumphed over the devil and his machinations, because of her holiness and because the fire of her will (γνώμης) was much stronger (πυρῶδεςτερον) than the fire of her nature (τῆς φύσεως πυρός).¹⁰

After his praises for St. Thecla's chastity and endurance, Chrysostom goes on to point out that virginity is an askesis and a virtue, and that it has certain advantages over marriage. Recalling St. Paul's statement in I Cor. 7:34, which refers to the difference between virginity and marriage, he emphasizes that the virgin focuses her care on the things of the Lord in order to remain holy both in body and in spirit, whereas a married woman cares more for earthly things in order to please her husband.¹¹ St. John also says that according to St. Paul (II Cor. 11:2) a virgin does indeed marry - she is married to Christ who is her heavenly husband (τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν συμπαγωγίας τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δεδοκότα).¹³

Chrysostom does not condemn marriage because it procreates the human race yet he praises all virgins because they strive for the heavenly things instead of those of the world. To choose virginity, therefore, is to show preference for the better over the good (*κάλλιον καλοῦ προτιμῶ*).¹⁴ A virgin already shares in the pledge of the future life (*ἤδη τοῖς τῶν μελλόντων ἡ παρθένος ἐντροφᾶς ἀρραβῶσιν*) and also cohabitates (i.e. in marriage) with the sanctification of the resurrection (*ἤδη τῇ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἁγιασμῷ συνοικεῖς*).¹⁵ This is because "in the resurrection state people neither marry, nor are they given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven" (MT 22:30).¹⁶ Accordingly, Chrysostom regards a virgin as a priestly vessel (*σκεῦος γὰρ ἱερατικόν*) and a royal garb which cannot be worn by anybody else except by Christ, the King of all (*πορφύρις, ἣν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄλλῳ πλην τῷ τῶν ὅλων βασιλεῖ προσηρμοσθαι*).¹⁷ A virgin is a bride living in an everlasting virginal wedding (*νύμφη γάμον αἰὲς κεκτημένη παρθένον*), and her marriage with Christ is a blessed wedding with virginity as its bed (*μακαρίων γάμων, ὧν ἡ στρωμνὴ παρθενία*).¹⁸

St. Thecla realized the great importance of maintaining a state of virginity, and whenever she was tempted by the devil towards marriage, she remembered Christ who was within her, and made her soul cling to Him (Ps. 62:9)¹⁹ for endurance. For Chrysostom, the greatness of virginity can be negatively understood from the greatness of its loss. Fornication committed by a virgin, he says, yields greater consequences than when it is committed by someone who already is unchaste.

The corruption of a virgin is not on the same level as one who is not a virgin, just as the damage done to a mere woman is not equivalent to the ruin that a queen (i.e. a virgin) might suffer, or just as the theft of a mere object is not equal when compared to the theft of a priestly vessel (οὐκ ἴσον σκευὸς ἱερατικοῦ καὶ ἀγοραίου κλοπῆ).²⁰ Such is the magnitude of the virtue of virginity.

In the second instance, the homily on St. Pelagia, Chrysostom states that virginity is a crown²¹ and narrow path (στενωποῦ)²² where one has the opportunity to follow if he so wishes. Furthermore, since St. Pelagia remained a virgin, Chrysostom regards her body as being purer than the purest gold. Her body was guarded by angels, and honoured by archangels, and Christ was present also.²³ St. Pelagia moved from a virginal chamber to a heavenly chamber (ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐφ' ἑτέρον ἦλθε θάλαμον τὸν οὐρανό) at the point of her martyrdom.²⁴

In the third instance, the homily on St. Bernice and St. Prosdoce, Chrysostom expresses similar thoughts concerning virginity as he did in the previous homilies. He does not condemn marriage, but regards virginity as the better over the good (I Cor. 7:38),²⁵ or as a great possession (μέγα τὸ κτήμα) which is all the harder to maintain.²⁶ It was through the aid of God that St. Bernice and St. Prosdoce preserved their virginity.

In the writing In Secundum Adventum Jesu Christi, which is considered as spurious, pseudo-Chrysostom (?) asserts that the dignity of virginity, along with all the other virtues, will silence the Judge (who Himself

was born of a Virgin) from passing an unfavourable judgement on Judgement Day (ἀλλ' ἄξιωμα παρθενίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν δυσωπεῖ τὸν Κριτὴν τὸν ἐκ Παρθένου τεχθέντα).²⁷ This assertion is not incongruous with the teaching of undisputed writings of Chrysostom dealing with martyrdom. As noted in the previous chapter of this text (entitled 'Martyrdom of asceticism'), the virtues of virginity are the spiritual sacrifices that are desirable and pleasing unto God. They are the preferable offerings for the worship of God and the only things out of man's possessions that can be taken into the next life.

Clearly, then, virginity is for Chrysostom a priestly vessel, a marriage with Christ, and a royal garb which is permitted to be worn only by Christ Himself. St. Pelagia regarded virginity so highly, that she committed suicide in order to preserve it.²⁸ As such, virginity is indeed a sort of Christian martyrdom.

c. Martyrdom by association

There are three more secondary nuances of martyrdom in St. John Chrysostom's thought which fit the general description of Martyrdom by association: a martyrdom by service, a martyrdom by imitation, and a martyrdom by word. The first two nuances arise as a result of someone's direct association with a martyr or his relics. The third nuance, martyrdom by word, is directly related to preaching Christ's Gospel.

1. Martyrdom by service

Martyrdom by service is found in the panegyric homilies De S. Hieromartyre Babyla and In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres.

In the first homily, Chrysostom refers to the translation of the relics of St. Babylas from a Church in the city of Antioch, where they had been moved by Emperor Julian the Apostate, back to a new church which was built for them on the other side of the Orontes River, and notes that upon the return of these relics to the new church on the Orontes, St. Babylas received as a neighbour someone who was similar to him in his manner of life, i.e. someone who was buried beside St. Babylas (καὶ οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν μόνος ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταχέως γείτονα καὶ ὁμόσκηνον τὸν ὁμότροπον ἔλαβε).¹

This person was a certain Bishop who, prior to his death, had showed great devotion to the memory of St. Babylas, and had been responsible for building the new church in which St. Babylas' relics had been or finally housed.

Chrysostom notes that this Bishop who was buried near St. Babylas, "had offered his own body to the service of the Saint" (καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος λειτουργίαν εἰσφέρων τῷ μάρτυρι).² Even during the hot summer, he had personally supervised the church's erection and, along with the construction workers, had helped in its actual building. It is said that he lifted rocks and pulled ropes and when one builder required something, he showed greater readiness than the other workers in assisting him.³ Chrysostom points out that this Bishop knew what reward awaited him for his toils. He offered his services to St. Babylas the martyr by helping to erect a beautiful building in his honour and by celebrating regularly his feast day,⁴ because he knew that in this way he would become a martyr by association.

In the homily In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, Chrysostom finds the opportunity to discuss once again this secondary nuance of martyrdom by association. He notes that after the execution of St. Juventius and St. Maximinus, many people endangered their own lives as they collected the relics of these men of valour. In the light of their concern for the proper care of the relics of Sts. Juventius and Maximinus, despite any harm that might have occurred to them for undertaking this endeavour, these people should, according to Chrysostom, be regarded as live martyrs (καὶ ἦσαν κακεῖνοι μάρτυρες ζῶντες).⁵

Chrysostom speaks of martyrdom by imitation, in his homilies De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, In S. Lucianum Martyrem, In S. Julianum Martyrem, In Martyres, In SS. Petrum Et Heliam, In S. Phocam Martyrem, De Maccabaeis, Homilia III, and De Sanctis Martyribus.

In the homily De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, Chrysostom notes that the Bishop who erected the new church on the Orontes River for St. Babylas' relics was also a wonderful zealot for the holy martyr (ὁ θαυμαστός οὗτος τοῦ μάρτυρος ζηλωτής).¹ In fact he imitated the life of the martyrs being zealous for their courage, and potentially preserving in himself their image (Μιμεῖται τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, ζηλοῖ τὴν ἀνδρείαν διὰ πάντων κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν εἰκόνα διασώζει τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ).² Whilst the martyrs offered their bodies for slaughter in imitating Christ's death, this bishop mortified his bodily organs on earth (Ἐπέδωκαν ἐκεῖνοί τὰ σώματα τῇ σφαγῇ ἐνεκρῶσεν οὗτος τὰ μέλη τῆς σαρκὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς).³ He extinguished the flame of desire that was inside of him, in the same manner as the martyrs withstood the flames of the furnaces.⁴ He silenced the wildest passion of anger, as the martyrs struggled with the teeth of the beasts.⁵ In the light of all this, Chrysostom places this Bishop among the "pastors who are as worthy as the martyrs" (Ποιμένους μαρτύρων ἁγίων).⁶

In the homily In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, Chrysostom speaks of the masses of people who gathered in the prison to listen to the preaching of St. Juventius and St. Maximinus prior to their execution and praises their courage in allowing their fear of God to override

all other fears and inhibitions.⁷ Many people, says Chrysostom, became martyrs (πολλοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο μάρτυρες) on that occasion by virtue of their association with the two martyrs, and especially of choosing the future life by choosing to be with the martyrs.⁸ The courage of these people and the presence of Sts. Juventius and Maximinus turned the prison into a church (τὸ δεσμοτήριον ἐκκλησίᾳ λοιπὸν ἐγίνετο) in which virtue and a soundness of mind (σωφροσύνης) born out of patience and faith were powerfully proclaimed.⁹

In the same homily, Chrysostom goes on to say that people generally imitate the martyrs when they visit their shrines and honour their relics. Indeed he stresses the point that people should not approach the shrines of the martyrs for the mere sake of visiting them, but in order to learn how to imitate the martyrs (ἵνα μὴ μόνον παραγινώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς μάρτυρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμώμεθα μάρτυρας). The imitation of a martyr, he explains, is achieved by venerating his relics, honouring his memory, and exhibiting the same courage when an opportunity arises to imitate his death.¹⁰

Martyrdom by imitation is also expounded in the general homily on Martyrs (Homilia In Martyres). In this instance, it is stated that to commemorate a martyr is not just to keep his feast day but to be conformed to his choice or will (γνῶμη τῶν ἐπιτελούντων κρίνονται). To do this, says Chrysostom, i.e. to be zealous for the virtue of a martyr, or to follow his philosophy, is to celebrate his memory even when it is not his feast day.¹¹ In the last analysis, honouring a

martyr is imitating him (τιμῇ γὰρ μάρτυρος, μιμησις μάρτυρος),¹² desiring his spiritual achievements,¹³ and being zealous for their toils.¹⁴

Chrysostom also claims on the basis of I Thess. 3:8 and Ex. 32:31f, that the martyrs sense (αἰσθάνονται) their own achievements ^{more so}, when they see other faithful Christians honouring them by imitating them.¹⁵ This, he says, takes place everytime one subdues the fire (i.e. passion) of his body. In this case, one becomes similar to the martyrs who stepped on burning coals and subdued the subsequent pain. Chrysostom also states that as martyrs fought with the beasts, so man should control his anger - that untameable and stubborn beast (τὸ ἀνήμερον καὶ ἀντίθασον θηρίον) which rages within him. As martyrs endured unbearable pains, so man must defeat the ^{ab}upsurd and evil reasonings (τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν λογισμῶν) which leap from his heart.¹⁶ Chrysostom refers to St. Paul who says that it is proper for someone to imitate the martyrs, since he is "not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph.6:12).¹⁷ Nevertheless, one should also imitate the martyrs by eliminating the desires of the body. Bodily desire is an unquenchable and unending fire, or as Chrysostom characterizes it, an enraged (λυττῶν) and rabid (μεμηνώς) dog which endlessly pursues its victim. He regards the fire of desire greater than the fire of burning coals, because, as he says, there is no truce in this life from the assaults of desire which

remain uninterrupted in order that the crown that awaits the victor might shine all the more brilliantly.¹⁸ Chrysostom also mentions St. Paul¹⁹ and Solomon's statements in Prov. 6:28-29²⁰ which make the same point. In the last analysis, if man imitates the martyrs, then he will become like the angels (ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνταῦθα μιμήσεως μέλλοντας τοῖς ἀγγέλοις παρισσοῦσθαι).²¹

In the homily In S. Lucianum Martyrem, Chrysostom states that whoever accepts a martyr in the name of a martyr, will receive a martyr's reward (οὕτως ὁ δέχόμενος μάρτυρα εἰς ὄνομα μάρτυρος, μισθὸν μάρτυρος λήψεται),²² echoing Matthew 10:41; "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward".²³ In conclusion, Chrysostom explains that in order to receive a martyr who is a righteous man, one should attend the celebration of a martyr's feast day, listen to the martyr's achievements, marvel at all his accomplishments, and ultimately imitate the martyr's virtue.²⁴ Man can actually imitate the martyrs if he adorns his soul with the eicon of their lives. Chrysostom advises, that just as people decorate their homes so man should decorate his soul with eicons of the martyrs' toils, labours, and tortures. This type of eicon is not painted by material means, but by man's readiness (προθυμία) and noble and vigilant reasoning (λογισμῷ γενναίῳ καὶ νηφοντι). With the various eicons of the saints embedded in his soul, man will become brighter and a worthy residence for

Christ, the King of heaven.²⁵ When Christ sees the eicons of his saints been drawn on a man's mind (δῖα νοῖα), then He comes together with the Father and the Holy Spirit to reside within him. In this case, man's mind becomes a royal palace where no improper reasoning (λογισμὸς) is able to penetrate, since the memory of the martyrs always fills this place. Like a bold drawing, the martyrs' memories shed light upon man's soul, and God remains uninterruptedly inside of him.²⁶

In his eulogy of Prophet Eleazar in the De Maccabaeis Homilia III, Chrysostom presents this prophet to others as an excellent example for imitation. Despite [of] his age, Eleazar endured such fierce contests for the faith, that Chrysostom praises him as "the beginning of the contests" (ἡ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρχή), "the foundation of martyrdom" (ὁ τῆς μαρτυρίας θεμέλιος), "the gate to the course" (τῶν σκαμμάτων ἡ θύρα), "the chief of manliness" (τῆς ἀνδρείας ὁ ἀρχηγός), "the forerunner of patience" (τῆς καρτερίας ὁ πρόδρομος), "the grey hair with a youthful appearance" (ἡ νεάζουσα πολιὰ), "the protomartyr of the Old Testament" (ὁ τῆς Παλαιᾶς πρωτόμαρτυς), and "the eicon of St. Peter - the first among the Apostles" (ἡ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰκὼν).²⁷

In the homily De S. Phocam Martyrem, Chrysostom adds a word of caution to correct any misunderstanding that might arise from what he had previously said concerning the means of honouring and imitating the martyrs. He says that no additional glory is attributed to the martyrs, when people imitate them; rather, the

people receive a greater blessing in the light of
 "presenting themselves" to (i.e. imitating) the
 martyrs.²⁸

For as he who looks at the sun does not make
 the star any brighter, but simply brightens
 his own eyes, likewise, he who honours the
 martyr does not make him (i.e. the martyr)
 more illustrious, but himself acquires the
 blessing of the light of the former (i.e.
 the martyr).²⁹

3. Martyrdom by word

Martyrdom, by word, perhaps the most common usage of
 the word martyrdom, means bearing witness to the Gospel
 of Christ and particularly to His redemptive suffering,
 death and resurrection.

In the first instance, this nuance of martyrdom
 arises in a discussion on St. Romanos, who preached
 the Gospel during his imprisonment. St. John recalls
 how the persecutor cut out St. Romanos' tongue without
 however preventing St. Romanos from speaking more
 forcefully. The ease in which St. Romanos proclaimed
 the Gospel was so great, that it appeared as if he had
 overcome an obstacle that hindered his speech when he
 lost his tongue! St. John refers to the dismembered
 tongue as a new and all-glorious sacrifice to God and
 remarks that St. Romanos' mouth was filled with great
 joy in that he offered his tongue as a sacrifice to
 Christ.² A man with flesh, he says, was talking
 without flesh to men with flesh (σάρκινος ἄσάρκως
 φθεγγόμενος).³ His tongue felt great joy because it
 appeared as a martyr prior to his martyrdom (by death ;
 ἔσχεν ἡ γλῶσσα πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασιν, προδρόμος μάρτυς

ὀφθεῖσα τοῦ μάρτυρος).⁴ His mouth became an altar, and the tongue which was sacrificed became a paradoxical lamb (παρὰδοξον ἀμνάδα) containing the blood of the Saint.⁵ Indeed, the tongue was sacrificed as a complete sheep for Christ.⁶

St. Romanos, says Chrysostom, continued to preach the Gospel even though he was deprived of his tongue. He received a second tongue from Christ (δευτέραν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνεφύτευσε γλῶσσαν),⁷ a sort of 'unfleshly' tongue because he possessed an angelic state of mind (ἄσαρκον ἐχαρίσατο γλῶσσαν ἀγγελικῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπρεπε φρονήματι σάρκινος καλῶς σοι τὴν τῆς γλώσσης ἀντιμισθίαν ἀπέδωκεν).⁸ which desired to proclaim the Gospel to everyone. St. Romanos received the grace of Christ because he willingly had his tongue cut out for the sake of Christ.⁹ Chrysostom goes on to say that Christ granted St. Romanos a tongue which was constructed by the grace of the Holy Spirit, for when he was deprived of his earthly tongue, he accepted the Spirit's grace (οὐχ ἦν ὁ σίδηρος ἀφείλεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἐχάλκευσε τῆς γλώσσης γὰρ συληθείσης ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἀντεσχηθῇ);¹⁰ and thus it was the heavenly fire that spoke through St. Romanos, as it had done through Christ's Apostles,¹¹ since he continued preaching the Gospel in the Spirit.¹² St. Romanos' example, says Chrysostom, made it obvious that rightful worship belongs to "Christ who generates the miracles, to whom belongs all glory together with the Father and with the All-Holy Spirit, now always and unto the ages of ages."¹³

A second reference to the secondary nuance of martyrdom by word is found in the In Ascensionem D.N.J.C.

Et In Princip. Act II. Once again Chrysostom emphasizes that it is only through the power of the Holy Spirit that one can become a martyr, and adds that a martyr is not only someone who is perfected through suffering for Christ, but also one who bears witness to the grace of Christ by word (Μάρτυρα δὲ λέγω νῦν, οὐ μόνον τὸν διὰ παθῶν τελειούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυροῦντα τῆς χάριτος).¹⁴ In this sense, every preacher of the truth is a martyr (witness) of God (πᾶς γὰρ κήρυξ ἀληθείας, μάρτυς ἐστὶ θεοῦ).¹⁵ Chrysostom mentions John the Baptist as an example of a martyr who not only suffered but preached the Kerygma that Jesus is the Christ. Finally, Chrysostom points out that it is proper for a man to receive strength from the Holy Spirit in order to become a martyr of the Divine Word. Christ Himself, he says, instructed His Apostles to remain in Jerusalem until they received the power of the Holy Spirit. Thus without the power of the Spirit, one cannot become a martyr of the Word, because he has no proper authority or sufficient capability to achieve this.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

In this investigation, our primary concern was to expound the views of St. John Chrysostom on the topic in question and avoid the temptation of making critical and evaluative comments. The result has been the emergence of a picture which throws further light into the understanding of Christianity in the early Church and particularly during the first Patristic period. What is central to this picture is the life of Christ culminating in His Martyrdom upon the Cross and His vindication through His Resurrection. Around that center, we have as primary witnesses to this martyrdom Apostles and Saints, who not only believed in but actually followed after Christ, and especially those who among them shared in His Holy Martyrdom. It is quite clear from this picture that [the early Church] understood the Gospel culminating in the Martyrdom and glorification of Christ in a most literal way, proclaiming it not only in word but in example and in deed. Faith was not an assent to a set of ideas related to Christ, but a way of life, Christ's life. The model of a believer was the person who followed Him to the Cross and who became through his own martyrdom a witness to the glory of His Resurrection. There is a crude realism to this picture of faith, particularly when one examines it in some of its details, most notably the detail connected with the holy relics of the Christian martyrs; but such a crudity indicates in the most indisputable manner that the

Chrysostom

Christian Gospel is concerned with the entire man and not just with his mind or spirit. The dust of history is transformed into a witness which anticipates its renewal, which has already been commenced in the Resurrection of Christ and in the glorification of His Martyrs and Saints who partake in it through their death. It seems inevitable that martyrdom should be linked with Christianity, because of the existing powers of darkness represented by sin and satan; but at the same time, martyrdom seems to be the most effective and decisive way of overcoming these powers and reestablishing the Kingdom of God in humanity and in the world at large.

Our investigation shows that the primary notion of martyrdom is connected with the climax of the Christian life on earth as exemplified first in Christ Himself and then in the Christians who believed, followed, and imitated Him. This martyrdom by death involves not only man's faith and satan's opposition to it, but also God's Providence and Grace. This is to be understood as an imitation of Christ's baptism in death and resurrection, in suffering and sacrifice, and therefore, also as an emigration into heaven, a call to a better and more spiritual life, a transposition from corruptibility into incorruptibility and last, but not least, as a spiritual wedding between the Christian and Christ. The most striking result of it all is the revelation of the power of God in human life and history as the Christian martyr becomes with Christ, His Lord, the intercessor before God for the salvation and renewal of the world. Martyrdom, however, is not only linked with the climax of

the Christian life as exemplified in Christ Himself, but with the entire life of the Christian. The life of asceticism and virginity are to be seen as powerful witnesses to the above Truth, but the same applies to any aspect of Christian life, which not only draws its inspiration from the above, but actually serves to proclaim it and promulgate it - this is what we have called martyrdom by association. Inasmuch as martyrdom is a fundamental aspect of the Christian life, the nuances of its meaning are as rich and as far reaching as Christian life itself. This has been brought out, to some limited extent, in our exposition of the links between martyrdom and virtue and especially love. But perhaps the most critical point in all this investigation on the notions of martyrdom is connected with the Christian martyr's will and disposition to be and follow Christ no matter the cost. It is this specific commitment of the human will which ultimately characterizes a Christian and especially a Christian martyr. Chrysostom has eloquently presented many examples of such Christians, but perhaps the best example is none other than that of himself, since his own life and martyrdom proves him to be ποιήσας καὶ διδάξας καὶ οὕτω μέγας κληθεὶς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν (Ματθ.5:9). Church hymnography has expressed it most eloquently:

Ἀδίκως τῆς πόλινος Σου, ἀπελαθεὶς Πάτερ Ὅσιε,
προσωμιλήσας θλίψεσι, πικραῖς ἐξορίαις τε· ἐν
αἷς ἡξιώθης, μακαρίου τέλους, οἷα γενναῖος
ἀθλητῆς, καταπαλαίσας τὸν πολυμήχανον· καὶ νίκης
διαδήμασι, δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστεφάνωσε, Ἰωάννη Χρυσό-
στομε, πρεσβευτὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

(Μηναιον, Νοέμβριος 13η)

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

a. Martyrdom before Chrysostom

1. Frend, p. 44.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 45.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 46.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 47.
23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 79.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Eusebius, H.E., Lib. V, Caput I, PG 20, col. 417B-C:
 But the devil also led forth a certain Biblias to punishment, who was one of those that had renounced the faith, thinking that he had already swallowed her, was anxious to increase her condemnation by blaspheming, and constraining her as a frail and timid character, easily overpowered, to utter impieties against us. But in the midst of the torture she repented and recovered herself, and as if awakening out of a deep sleep, was reminded by the punishment before her, of the eternal punishment in hell. And according she contradicted the blasphemers in her declarations. "How", she said, "could such as these devour children, who considered it unlawful even to taste the blood of irrational animals?" After that, she professed herself a Christian, and was added to the number of the martyrs"
 Καὶ Βιβλιάδα δὲ τινα μίαν τῶν ἠρνημένων ἤδη δοκῶν
 διάβολος καταπεποιημένη, θελήσας δὲ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας
 κατακρίναι, ἤγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ ἄθεα
 περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθραυστον ἤδη καὶ ἄνανδρον. Ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ
 στρεβλώσει ἀνένηψε, καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰπεῖν, ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου
 ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνηθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας
 τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντεῖπε
 τοῖς βλασφημοῖς φήσασα "πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοι-
 οῦτοι, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;" Καὶ ἀπὸ
 τοῦδε Χριστιανὴν ἑαυτὴν ὡμολόγει, καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν
 μαρτύρων προσετέθη.
30. Ibid.
31. Frend, p. 79.
32. Ibid., p. 84.
33. Ibid., p. 85.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Eusebius, H.E. Lib. V, Caput II, PG 20, col. 436A.

38. Frend, p. 85.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
- 40a. Herbert Moore, (ed.), The Treatise of Novatian On The Trinity, chapter xxix, "The Work of The Spirit in the Church" , (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London: The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919), p. 129.
41. Frend, p. 87.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., p. 88.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p. 89.
 Cf. also Ibid., p. 89: In some instances St. John the Apostle uses μαρτυς / μαρτυρία in the ordinary sense of the word (JN 8:17 or II JN 12); however, in other instances, John uses μαρτυρία to signify missionary witness by Jesus and his disciples (JN 3:11, 32-33; 5:30ff; 18:37; I JN 5:11; I JN 5:10; JN 19:35).
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p. 90.
 Cf. also Ibid., p. 90: II Thessal. 1: 6-10; Is. 66:15; Jer. 10:25; Ps 88:8; Is. 2:11 and 17; Dan. 12:2-3; Enoch 90; MT 24.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

Cf. also Ibid., p. 90, Hebrews 1:3 : "καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιήσάμενος" and Heb. 9:22, 10:19.

61. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

62. Ibid., p. 91.

63. Ibid., p. 91.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

65a. H.E. Lib. V, Cap. I-III, PG 20, col. 408-437.

65b. Frend, pp. 14-15 and Eusebius PG 20, col. 412B, 417C, 428A.

For κληρος meaning inheritance in the A Patristic Lexicon, edited by G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, p. 757; Ignatius of Antioch, Epistolae Interpolatae-Ad Trallianos, PG5, col. 800 A-B:

Εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκούσαί μου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ᾧ ὑμῖν γράψας. Καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρήζοντος ἐν τῷ ἔλεει τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου, οὗ περίκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὕρεθῶ.

On Polycarp of Smyrna by Ignatius of Antioch: Epist. Ecclesiae Smyrn. De Martyrio S. Polycarpi, PG 5, col. 1033B:

Καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ καὶ κληρονόμος, τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγῆν ἵνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν ἴδιον κληρὸν ἀπαρτίσῃ, Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γεγόμενος οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

Cf. also Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1968c p. 959.

66. Frend, pp. 14-15.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

68a. Eusebius, H.E., Lib.V, Cap. I, PG 20, col. 413.

Οἱ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας. Ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι, καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγχεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι.

69. H.E. Lib. V, Cap. II, PG 20, col. 433B-436A.

οὔτε μὴν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεπον τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' εἰ ποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρος αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησον πικρῶς. Ἡδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι, καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπεμιμνήσκοντο τῶν ἐξαληλυθόντων ἤδη μαρτύρων, καὶ ἔλεγον, Ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη μάρτυρες, οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστοῦ ἡξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμολογοὶ μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοί. Καὶ μετὰ δακρύων παρεκάλουν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, δεόμενοι ἵνα ἐκτενεῖς εὐχαὶ γίνωνται πρὸς τὸ τελειωθῆναι αὐτούς. Καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυντο, πολλὴν παρρησίαν ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ ἀτρομίας φανεράν ἐποίουν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρητοῦντο, ἐμπεπλησμένοι φόβου θεοῦ.

69a. H.E., PG 20, col. 408C-432C. and col. 413:

μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας.

70. Eusebius, H.E., Liber V, Caput. I, PG 20, col. 413A:

ἔστω γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητής..... ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ
οὗ ἀν' ὑπάγη.

Cf. PG 20, Caput II, col. 433A-436C

Cf. Liber IV, Caput. XV, PG 20, col. 340-362 (on St. Polycarp).

Cf. Ignatius, Epistola Ad Romanos, Caput IV, PG 5, col. 689:

Ἐγὼ γράφω ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔκων ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, εἴνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐνοία ἀκαιρος γένεσθέ μοι. Ἀφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βορᾶν, δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. Σίτος εἰμι θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθωμαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται, καὶ μηδὲν καταλίπωσι τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι. Τότε ἔσομαι μαθητής ἀληθῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. Λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία εὑρεθῶ.

Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δούλος. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. Νῦν μανθάνω δεξιμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

See also Irenaeus, Contra Haereses Liber III, Caput XVIII, PG 7, col. 936: et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur, et sustinent omnia a Domino praedicta, et secundum hoc conantur vestigia assequi passionis Domini, passibilis martyres facti.

71. Eusebius, H.E., Liber V, Caput I, PG 20, col. 424.

κοινωνία..... ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθὼν, τὴν κοινωνίαν αἰεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶντος Θεοῦ.

Cf. for information concerning the usage of the word 'archimartyr' in The Journal of Theological Studies, vol. XXVI, "The Martyrs of Madaura, A.D. 180", by J.H. Baxter, pp. 21-37.

72. Johannes Quasten, Patrology, vol. I, "The Beginnings of Patristic Literature", 1950, Spectrum Publishers, Utrecht Brussels, p. 176.

Cf. also E.C. Owen (translator), Some Authentic Acts of The Early Christian Martyrs, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, K.C. 2, 1933), pp. 11-12.

Owen refers to Bollandist Père H. Delehaye, S.J. (Legends of The Saints, Eng. trans., p. 111ff.). Delehaye divides the Acts of the early Christian martyrs and other related documents dealing with martyrdom into six classes. These classes are as follows:

I. Acta

- A. Official reports from the archives of the governor or judge who tried the case.
 - 1. These could be authentic or constructed after this pattern.
- B. Simple narratives which were written by Christians called Passiones (Latin) or Martyria (Greek).

II. Eyewitness accounts

III. Accounts of which the principal source is a written document that belongs to one or the other of the preceding classes.

A. i.e. Martyrdom of S. Pionius

IV. Historical Romances

- A. Scanty facts mixed with a lot of imagination.
 - 1. i.e. St. Felicitas and Her Seven Sons

V. Imaginative Romances

- A. The hero (or martyr) himself is the actual composer of the account.
 - 1. i.e. The history of Sts. Barlaam and Joasaph.

VI. Forgeries

- A. Their purpose was to deceive the reader
 1. i.e. The apostolic legends of France.

73. Herbert Musurillo, The Acts of The Christian Martyrs, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. xvii-xx, 42-61. Also for a brief introduction into the scholarly work on the early Acta of the martyrs refer to Musurillo, pp. xi-xii.
74. Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii, 86-89.
75. Ibid., pp. xxx-xxxi, 168-175.
76. Ibid., pp. xiii-xv, 2-21.
77. Ibid., pp. xx-xxii, 62-85.
78. Ibid., pp. xxv-xxvii, 106-131.
79. Ibid., pp. xv-xvi, 22-37.
80. Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxv, 90-105.
81. Quasten, Patrology, vol. I, pp. 184-185.
82. Eusebius, H.E., De Martyribus Palaestinae, Liber, PG 20, col. 1457-1520. The various chapters of Eusebius' text on the Palestinian martyrs are:
 - I. De Procopio, Alpheo et Zacchaeo martyribus
 - II. De Romano martyre
 - III. De Timotheo, Agapio, Thecla, et aliis octo martyribus
 - IV. De Apphiano martyre
 - V. De Ulpiano et Aedesio martyribus
 - VI. De Agapio martyre
 - VII. De Theodosia virgine, et de Domnino et Auxentio martyribus
 - VIII. De aliis confessoribus Valentinae ac Pauli martyrio
 - IX. De renovata persecutione; et de Antonino, Zebina, Germano, aliisque martyribus
 - X. De Petro monacho, Asclepio, Marcionita, aliisque martyribus
 - XI. De Pamphilo aliisque duodecium martyribus
 - XII. De Ecclesiarum praesidibus
 - XIII. De Silvano et Joanne aliisque undequadrageinta martyribus
83. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (ed.), American reprint of the Edinburgh edition, The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, vol. VII, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1975, p.437.
 Cf. also Ibid., pp. 437-442, Book V, section I : Concerning The Martyrs.
84. Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, pp. 147.
85. Ibid.

- 85a. Quasten, Patrology, vol. I, p. 102.
- 85b. E.C. Owen (translator), Some Authentic Acts of The Early Martyrs, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Ave. W.C. 2, 1933), p. 31.
86. Herbert Musurillo, The Acts of The Christian Martyrs, pp. xiii-xv.
87. Epist. Ecclesiae Smyrn. De Martyrio S. Polycarpi, Caput I: De martyrio Polycarpi et sociorum scribimus, PG 5, col. 1029B.
88. Ibid., col. 1044B.
89. Ibid., col. 1029B: Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα.
90. Ibid., col. 1029B: τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονότα.
- 90a. Ibid., col. 1041B: ἐσταφανωμένον τε τῷ τῆς ἁφθαρσίας στεφάνῳ.
91. Ibid., col. 1032B.
ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν.
92. Ibid., col. 1044A.
Ἐνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν ἡθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησὶν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.
93. Musurillo, The Acts..., p. 12, (ch. 14).
94. PG 5, col. 1041B.
95. Ibid., col. 1044A.
οὕτω τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὅσα αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν.
96. Ibid., col. 1040A.
παντὶ γὰρ καλῷ, ἀγαθῇ ἐνεκεν πολιτείας, καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐκεκόσμητο.
97. Ibid., col. 1032D.
Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προσδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.
Cf. also Ibid. MT 10: 23.

98. Ibid., col. 1032C.

Πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν.

99. Ibid., col. 1036B.

Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ, εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον, φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο, "Ἰσχυσε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, Πολύκαρπε". Καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν.

col. 1037B:

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλετο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν, παραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστήναι, πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κήρυκα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρύξαι τρίτον, "Πολύκαρπος ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι".

100. Ibid., col. 1040C-1041A, Caput XV: Polycarpus igne non laeditur.

When he had pronounced this amen, and so finished his prayer, those who were appointed for the purpose kindled the fire. And as the flame blazed forth in a great fury, we, to whom it was given to witness it, beheld a great miracle, and have been preserved that ~~we~~ might report to others what ~~then~~ took place. For in the fire, shaping itself into the form of an arch, like the sail of a ship when filled with the wind, encompassed as by a circle the body of the martyr. And he appeared within not like flesh which is burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold and silver flowing in a furnace. Moreover, we perceived such a sweet odour (coming from the fire), as if frankincense or some such precious spices had been smoking (literally breathing) there.

Ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ "Ἀμήν", καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ. Μεγάλῃς δὲ ἐκαλαμψάσης φλογὸς, θαῦμα μέγα εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη, οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν, εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γεγνημένα. Τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν, ὥσπερ ὁθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρουμένη, κύκλῳ περιτεείχισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος, ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. Καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος, ἢ ἄλλου

τινος τῶν τιμίων ἁρωμάτων.

See also Ibid., col. 1042A-B, Caput XVI: Polycarpus pugione transfigitur. Note that Eusebius omits all mention of the dove. Most scholars propose that the text should read ἐπ' ἀριστερά, i.e. on the left hand side, instead of περιστέρα, i.e. a dove. Cf. also with A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. I, The Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, p. 92.

101. Ibid., col. 1032A,B.

τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γεναιότητος ἔλθειν, ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνύμενους ἅπασαν ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι, τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ, ὅτι παρεστὼς ὁ Κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς; καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν. Πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον πῦρ, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομεινάσιν ἀγαθὰ, "ἃ οὔτε οὐς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη!"

102. Roberts and Donaldson, The Apostolic Fathers, vol. I p. 289. This martyrdom account was probably written by Philo, Agathopus, and Crocus who accompanied St. Ignatius on his journey to martyrdom in Rome. Cf. also PG 5, Epistolae Interpolatae-Ad Smyrnaeos, Caput X, col. 856A. Cf. also PG 5, Epistolae Interpolatae-Ad Philadelphenses, Caput XI, col. 837A-840A. Cf. also PG 5, Epistolae Interpolatae-Ad Romanos, Caput X, col. 817A.

103. Martyrium De Sancti Hieromartyre Ignatii Theophori, Caput I, PG 5, col. 980A.

τοιγαροῦν ἡὺφραίνετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀσαλεύτῳ, λωφίσαντος πρὸς ὀλίγον τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἥσχαλλεν δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὡς μήλω τῆς ὄντως εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἐφαψάμενος, μηδὲ τῆς τελείας τοῦ μαθητοῦ τάξεως.

104. Ibid., col. 980A,B.

Ἐνενόει γὰρ τὴν διὰ μαρτυρίου γινομένην ὁμολογίαν πλεῖον αὐτὸν προσοικειοῦσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

105. Ibid., col. 980B.

ἐπετύγχανεν τῶν κατ'εὐχὴν.

106. Ibid., col. 981 C,D.

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, Δέσποτα, ὅτι με τελεία τῇ πρὸς σέ ἀγάπῃ τιμῇσαι κατηξίωσας, τῷ ἀποστόλῳ σου Παύλῳ δεσμοῖς συνδήσας σιδηροῖς.

107. Ibid., col. 984B.

ὡς οὐρανοῦ μέλλων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι διὰ τῆς καλῆς ὁμολογίας.

108. Ibid., col. 984C.

τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπιτύχη.

109. Ibid., col. 985D.

τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων.

110. Ibid., col. 988A.

θησαυρὸς ἀτίμητος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μάρτυρι χάριτος τῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καταλειφθέντα.

111. Ibid., col. 988B.

οἱ μὲν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστάντα καὶ περιπτυσσόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐβλέπομεν, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπευχόμενον ἡμῖν ἐωρῶμεν τὸν μακάριον Ἰγνατίον, ἄλλοι δὲ σταζόμενον ὑφ' ἰδρώτος ὡς ἐκ καμάτου πολλοῦ παραγενόμενον, καὶ παρεστῶτα τῷ Κυρίῳ.

The following Epistles of St. Ignatius also point out that a martyr is an imitator of Christ's death:

Epistola Ad Ephesios, PG 5, col. 652A-B.

Epistola Ad Philadelphenses, PG 5, col. 701C-704A.

Epistola Ad Romanos, PG 5, col. 691B-694A.

112. Musurillo, The Acts of The Christian Martyrs, p. xviii.

113. Ibid., p. 52,53.

114. The writings of Clement of Alexandria which pertain to martyrdom.

a. Stromatum, Liber IV, Caput XII, Basilidis sententiam, martyrium genus supplicii existimantis, refutat, PG 8, col. 1289-1296.

b. Ibid., Gravitier reprehendit illos qui se iudicibus offerebant, PG 8, col. 1285-1288. Caput X.

- Ibid. Respondet objectioni: Si Deus Vestri curam gerat, cur patimini, PG 8, col. 1287-1290, Caput XI.
- c. Ibid. Quae Christus de martyrii beneficiis dixit, colligit in unum atque illustrat, Caput IX, col. 1279-1286, PG 8.
- d. Ibid. Martyrii laudes, PG 8, col. 1225-1232, Caput IV.
- e. Ibid. Caput XVII, Citationem ex epistola S. Clementis ad Corinthos ad argumentum praecedentis capitis spectantem refert., PG 8, col. 1311-1320.
- f. Ibid., Caput XVI, Quaedam Scripturae loca de constantia patientia et charitate martyrum illustrat, PG 8, col. 1305-1310.
- g. Ibid., Caput V, De doloris, paupertatis aliorumque externorum contemptu, PG 8, col. 1231-1238.
- h. Ibid., Caput VIII, In ecclesia feminas non minus quam viro, et servos pariter cum liberis, martyrii esse candidatos, PG 8, col. 1267-1280.
- i. Ibid., Caput VII, Beatos esse qui Deci cause sanguinem profundunt, PG 8, col. 1253-1268.
- j. Ibid. Caput VI, Aliquot beatitudinum capita exponit, PG 8, col. 1237-1254.
115. PG 8, col. 1228B.
 Αὐτίκα "τελείωσιν" τὸ μαρτύριον καλοῦμεν, οὐχ ὅτι "τέλος" τοῦ βίου ὃ ἄνθρωπος ἔλαβεν, ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ, ἀλλ'ὅτι "τέλειον" ἔργον ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο.
116. PG 8, col. 1256 A,B.
 τοῖς δὲ ἀθλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θάνατος εἶναι ὁ βιαιότατος, ἢ δι' αἵματος μαρτυρία τοῦ Κυρίου δοκεῖ, οὐκ εἰδόσι, τῆς ὄντως οὔσης ζωῆς ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ θανάτου πύλην.
117. Quasten, Patrology, vol. 2, p. 40.
 Cf. Ibid., pp. 69-72 for the classification of the divisions of Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom.
118. Exhortatio Ad Martyrium, PG 11, col. 588A.
 οὐράνιον μαρτύριον
119. Ibid., col. 596D.
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο εὕρισκει οἶονεὶ ἰσόρροπον ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δυνάμενον ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου εὐπροαιρέτου ἀποδοθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς τὴν ἐν μαρτυρίῳ τελευτήν.

120. Ibid., col. 596D, 597A.

"Ποτήριον δὲ σωτηρίου" ἔθος ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ μαρτύριον, ὥς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ εὐρομεν.

121. Ibid., col. 597A.

πλὴν μανθάνομεν ὅτι συγκαθιεῖ καὶ συμβασιλεύει, καὶ συνδικάσει τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν βασιλευόντων ὁ πῶν τὸ ποτήριον ἐκεῖνο.

122. Ibid., col. 601A.

123. Ibid., col. 601A.

Καὶ ἐπίστησον, εἰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον βάπτισμα, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καθάρισον γέγονε τοῦ Κόσμου, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πολλῶν θεραπείᾳ καθαιρόμενον γίνεται.

124. Ibid., col. 601A,B.

οὕτως αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν πεπελεκισμένων ἐνεκεν τῆς μαρτυρίας Ἰησοῦ, μὴ μάτην τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύουσαι διακονοῦσι τοῖς εὐχομένοις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων.

125. Ibid., col. 601B.

ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θυσίαν ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, οὕτως οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὧν ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεὺς, θυσίαν ἑαυτοὺς προσφέρουσι.

126. Ibid., col. 636A,B.

Ἰωάνν. 21,19. Δοξάσωμεν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὑψώσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν θανάτῳ τὸν θεὸν ἐπεὶ περ ὁ μαρτυρῶν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ δοξάζει τὸν θεὸν ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰωάννου μεμαθήκαμεν εἰπόντος "Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπε, σημαίνων, ποιῶ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν".

127. Comment. In Joan. Tomus VI, PG 14, col. 293D-296A.

κατάλωσιν οὖν νομιστέον γίνεσθαι δυνάμεων κακοποιῶν διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων, οἷον τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας τῆς μέχρι θανάτου, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὐσεβείας προθυμίας, ἀμβλυνοῦσης τὸ ὄξύ τῆς ἐκείνων κατὰ τοῦ πάσχοντος ἐπιβουλῆς, ὥστε, ἀμβλυνομένης καὶ ἀπονησάσης τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν, καὶ ἑτέρους πλείονας τῶν νενικημένων ἀνίσθαι ἐλευθερουμένους τοῦ

βάρους οὐ πονηραὶ δυνάμεις ἐπικείμεναι ἐφόρτιζον καὶ ἔβλαπτον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παθόντες, ἂν, μὴ ἀπονησάντων τῶν ἐνεργησάντων εἰς ἑτέρους τὰ χρεῖονα, οὐκέτι περιπίπτουσι τῷ πάθει, νικήσαντος τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην θυσίαν πορσαγαγόντος τὴν δε τὴν ἀντικειμένην δύναμιν.

128. PG 11, col. 589B,C.

Μὴ τὸ ἐν φανερῷ δὲ μόνον μαρτύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν κρυπτῷ τελείως ἀναλαβεῖν ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστολικῶς φθεγξώμεθα " Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς συνειδήσεως ὅτι ἐν ἀγιότητι καὶ εἰλικρινείᾳ Θεοῦ ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ." Συνάπτωμεν δὲ τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τὸ προφητικὸν τὸ "Αὐτὸς δὲ γινώσκει τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας" καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαγώμεθα, ὅτε φήσομεν τὸ ὑπὸ μόνων μαρτύριων λεγόμενον τῷ Θεῷ "Ὅτι ἕνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς." Ἐὰν δὲ πότε ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς ὑποβάλληται ἡμῖν φόβος τῶν ἀπειλούντων ἡμῖν θάνατον δικαστῶν, τότε εἴπωμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Παροιμιῶν "Υἱέ, τίμα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἰσχύσεις πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον."

129. Jean Daniélou, Origen (translated by Walter Mitchell), Sheed and Ward, London and New York, 1955, p. 7.

130. Ibid., p. 7.

131. Ibid.

132. Liber Ad Martyres, Caput Primum, PL I, col. 619A-621A.

133. Liber De Anima, Caput LV, PL 2, col. 742B-745A.

134. Liber De Anima Caput LV, PL 2, col. 745A.

135. Liber De Anima, PL 2, col. 745A.

136. Cyprian's writings that specifically deal with martyrdom. PL 4, col. 427- 433, 677-702, 433-434, 444-452, 359-369, 251-256, 817-834.

137. Ad Fortunatum De Martyrio, PL 4, col. 679-680(B,C).
Nec non et illud consilium, frater charisme, utile et salubre prospexi, in exhortatione tam necessaria quae martyres faciat, amputandas esse verborum nostrorum moras et tarditates, atque ambages sermonis humani subtrahendas, ponenda sola illa quae

Deus loquitur, quibus servos suos ad martyrium
Christus horatur. Praecepta ipsa divina velut arma
pugnantibus suggerenda sunt. Illa sint militaris
tubae hortamenta, illa pugnantibus classica. Inde
aures crigantur, inde instruuntur mentes, inde et animi et
corporis vires ad omnem passiones tolerantiam
roborentur. Nos tantum qui, Domino permittente,
primum baptisma credentibus dedimus, ad aliud
quoque singulos praeparemus, insinuantes et docentes
hoc esse baptisma in gratia majus, in potestate
sublimius, in honore pretiosius, baptisma in quo
angeli baptizant, baptisma in quo Deus et Christus
ejus exultant, baptisma post quod nemo jam peccat
baptisma quod fidei nostrae incrementa consummat,
baptisma quod nos de mundo recedentes statim Deo
copulat.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., col. 680B.

In aquae baptismo accipitur peccatorum remissa,
in sanguinis baptismo corona virtutum.

142. Liber De Laude Martyrii, PL 4, col. 823C.

Sanguini nostro patet coelum, Sanguini nostro gehennae
cedit habitaculum, et inter omnia gloriae pulchrior
sanguinis titulus et integrior corona signatur.

143. Ibid., col. 831.

Sed et alios frequenter aspeximus interritos
stetisse, ut admissa peccata redimentes, cruore suo
loti haberentur in sanguine, et reviviscerent
interempti qui viventes computabantur occisi. Mors
quippe integriorem facit vitam, mors amissam invenit
gloriam. Nam hoc spes jam amissa percipitur, hoc
salus cuncta reparatur.

144. PL 4, col. 685A,B,C.

145. Ibid., col. 702A,B.

...incorruptam fidem et virtutem mentis incolumen,
laudem devotionis illustrem, comitari eum cum venire
coeperit, vindictam de inimicis recepturus, lateri
ejus assistere, cum sederit iudicaturus, cohaeredem
Christi fieri, angelis adaequari, cum patriarchis,
cum apostolis, cum prophetis coelestis regni
possessione laetari?

146. Epistola LVI, PL 4, Ad Thibaritanos, De Exhortatione
Martyrii, col. 359, 360, AB

147. Ibid., col. 366B.

148. Ibid.

149. PL 4, col. 820C-821B.

Delictorum finis, periculi terminus, dux salutis,
patientiae magister, domus vitae, quo profecto etiam
ea occidunt quae in futuro discrimine potuissent
tormenta reputari. Per hoc et testimonium nomini
redditur; et magestas nominis redampliatur; non quod
per se ipsa minui possit vel de scelere retractantis
magnitudo ejus infringi, sed quod redundet ad gloriae
cumulum, dum circumstrepentis populi terror impavidos
animos dat dolori, et minis fredentis invidiae addit
ad titulum quod tantum sibi mens crescat in pugna
quantum se ille putaverit vincere per quem Christus
hominem voluerit coronare. Tunc ergo omne fidei
robur expeditur, tunc credulitas comprobatur, cum in
sermone vulgi atque in opprobrium veneris, cumque te
contra illas populares insanias religiosa mente
firmaveris, convincens scilicet ac repugnans quidquid
sub persona tua in injuriam Christi profanus sermo
jactaverit; ut cum adverso mari motes opposita
reluctatur, feriant licet fluctus, et revolutum
aequor identidem pulset, tamen haeret immobilis
virtus, nec undis circumspumantibus adoperta
succumbit, donec per scopulos vis digesta se
supprimat, et superjacens saxis in aperta littoris
spatia victum aequor evadat.

150. PG 31, col. 163-618, 1429-1514.

151. PG 46, col. 701-721.

152. PG 46, col. 735-748.

153. PG 46, col. 749-772.

b. Chrysostomian Texts dealing with Martyrdom

1. Saint John Chrysostom has the highest regard for St. Paul. This great admiration, sincere respect, and love for the Apostle to the Nations is clearly evident in the majority of the Chrysostomian texts which are constantly enhanced with Pauline arguments and proofs, and especially in the present seven panegyric homilies in honour of St. Paul. In the first homily, St. John Chrysostom compares Paul with the great figures of the Old Testament such as Abel, Noah, Abrahamaam, John the Baptist, and other Patriarchs and Prophets, only to demonstrate that Paul surpasses all of them in his own characteristic excellence. In the second homily, Chrysostom exhorts the will of St. Paul with which he lived as if bodiless, even though he had a body. Furthermore, it is illustrated with Paul's example as to the extraordinary heights that human nature can rise. The third homily shows Paul's forbearance and mercy as a result of his boundless love for God and for his fellow man. The fourth homily deals with Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus by comparing his acceptance of God's calling, while the Jews remained obdurate in their unbelief. The fifth homily praises The Apostle as being "the all of all" in the light of his glorious triumph over all of his weaknesses. The sixth describes Paul's fear of death in which others, in general, seem to have located a flaw. Nevertheless, Chrysostom remarks that a person's fear of death should not be held against him since this is natural. It is the soul's courage and resiliency that counts in this matter. According to Johannes Quasten, "the last panegyric contrasts the standard-bearer of the crucified Lord and Heavenly King, who carried the Cross emblazoned on his banner through the whole world" (Quasten, Patrology, vol. 3, p. 456).
2. St. Thecla was an early Christian virgin. It is said that after Paul's escape from Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13: 51), she met Paul in Iconium at the house of Onesiphorous, and that was the beginning of a great friendship. The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla narrates her life and persecution (M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924, pp. 272-281). She is honoured as a great martyr and as an equal to the Apostles (μεγαλομάρτυς καὶ ἰσαπόστολος ; see ΜΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΣΥΝΕΚΛΗΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ, Athens, 1979, p. 505. Since the third century, her feast day is celebrated on September 24 in the East, or September 23 in the West (F. L. Cross, The Oxford Dictionary of The Christian Church, Oxford, 1957, p. 1337.). Her widowed mother's name was Theocleia. Thecla was to be married to Thamyris, a noble youth of Iconium (Henry Wace and William Piercy, A Dictionary...And Literature, London

1911, pp. 953-956). Her mother's house was adjoined to Onesiphorous' house and therefore, she could hear Paul preaching since he sought refuge in Onesiphorous' house from his forementioned escape from Antioch in Pisidia. Thecla became passionately filled with faith and liked Paul's exhortation of celibacy and asceticism. She became Paul's disciple. Afterwards, a series of events led to Paul's capture by the civil authorities in the light of Thymaris' great anger at Paul who was accused of preaching the new doctrine of the Christians and for dissuading maidens from marriage. He was brought before the "proconsul" Castelius and subsequently imprisoned. Thecla discovered his capture and went to the jail and bribed the jailer with her jewelry in order to gain access to Paul and to hear him preach. She was discovered there the next morning by Theocleia and by Thymaris. Thecla was arrested also. Castelius exiled Paul from the city and ordered for Thecla to be executed. When the great pyre was ready, a great hail and rain storm extinguished the fire and she escaped. Paul and Thecla were once again reunited and they traveled to Antioch. In Antioch, Alexander the Syriarch desired to have Thecla for his own and offered Paul a price for her. Paul refused. Alexander tried to flatter Thecla, but she told Alexander that she vowed chastity to God. She was condemned to be thrown to the beasts. However, she miraculously escaped her death sentence and she fled. She once again met Paul who commissioned her to preach and afterwards, she proceeded towards Iconium, and finally ended up in Seleucia. The oldest manuscripts of The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla preserved in ancient Syriac and Latin, describe Thecla's death thus:

And when she had so testified, she departed unto Seleucia, and after she had enlightened many with the word of God, she slept a good sleep(James, The Apocryphal...., pp. 272-281.).

On the other hand, the four extant Greek copies represent Thecla at this point as living an anchoritic life. They also say that she ventured to Rome in the hope of meeting St. Paul once again; however, she found him martyred. These manuscripts record Thecla as dying at 90 years of age, and also buried near Paul's tomb 72 years after her martyrdom(Wace and Piercy, op.cit., pp. 953-956). The oldest Greek MS is not earlier than the tenth century. It is also important to note that out of all of the references to Thecla made by ecclesiastical writers, not one (except Jerome, de Vir. Ill. c.7) lies outside of the scope of the incidents presented in the Acts. The first of these writers to mention Thecla is Methodius (Symposium Decem Virginum, c. 300, PG 18). Also St. John Chrysostom remarks about Thecla selling her jewels in order to see Paul in prison (Hom. 25 in Acta App. 4). Evidently Isidore of Pelusium (lib. i. Ep. 87) is the first to give her the title of protomartyr, as explained by Basil of Seleucia (p. 232).

Furthermore, documents illustrate that Theodore of Mopsuestia, as stated by Solomon of Bassora (a thirteenth century Nestorian, cf. Assem. B.O. iii., p. 323), composed an oration on St. Thecla. Epiphanius (Haer. lxxviii. 16; lxxix.5) also praises her for sacrificing a prosperous future of marriage and compares her to Elias, John the Baptist, and even to the Virgin Mary. Thecla is praised by Ambrose (de Lapsu Virg. p. 307) as a virgin worthy to rank with the Virgin Mary herself. The same is done by Sulpicius Severus (c. A.D. 400) who describes (Dial. ii. 13) how St. Martin of Tours saw a vision in which the Virgin Mary, St. Agnes, and St. Thecla spoke to him (MPL, t. XX, col. 210). St. Ambrose of Milan also associates St. Thecla with the Virgin Mary, Miriam, and Moses' sister (Ep. 63, ad Vercell. Eccl. t. ii., pt. I, p. 1030). Ambrose also relates Thecla's experience and deliverance from the beasts (de Virginibus, ii. 19, p. 166). St. Eusebius of Caesarea, St. Athanasius the Great, and St. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi., p. 399, t.i; Poemata Hist. s. i. II, p. 703, t. ii.) also write about the virgin martyr Thecla.

3. St. Ignatius the 'Theophoros' (θεοφόρος = God-bearer), born c. A.D. 35, was Bishop of Antioch; he was probably of Syrian origin (F.L. Cross, op. cit., pp. 676-677). Ignatius was called "God bearer" because of his extreme devotion to Christ. Also one tradition claims that he was the child that Christ lifted up and showed it to the Apostles saying, "... if you do not return and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (MT 18:2). He also could have been a disciple of St. John the Apostle (Loukakis, The Works of St. John Chrysostom, Athens, 1970, p. 21). In Apostolic succession, Origen mentions that Ignatius was the second Bishop of Antioch, the successor of St. Peter. However, according to Eusebius, Ignatius was third, following Peter's successor Eudocius (c. A.D. 69 ; Cross, op.cit.). There is insufficient information to describe Ignatius' life prior to his journey towards martyrdom from Antioch to Rome. En route to Rome, the soldiers and the imprisoned Ignatius stopped in Smyrna where he wrote four Epistles (to the Churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome). He was later moved from Smyrna to Troas where he wrote three other Epistles (to the Churches of Philadelphia, Smyrna, and to St. Polycarp). Origen specifically mentions Rome as the site of his martyrdom (traditionally in the Colosseum which was erected in the Flavian Dynasty). St. Ignatius was mutilated to death by wild beasts under the reign of Trajan. The exact year of his martyrdom is either A.D. 107 or 113, or 110 or even 115. The Greek Orthodox Church celebrates St. Ignatius' feast day on the twentieth of December while in the Orthodox of Antioch, it is celebrated on the seventeenth of October. His feast day is commemorated in the Roman Calendar on the first of February. However, in the Anglican Book of

Common Prayer, Ignatius is honoured on the seventeenth of December.

4. Saint Babylas succeeded Zebinus as Bishop of Antioch, in A.D. 237 or 238 and remained bishop until his martyrdom in A.D. 250 or 251 under the emperor Decius. St. Babylas was martyred for his faith either in prison (Euseb. H.E. vi. 39) or by direct violence to his person (St. Chrys. de St. Bab. c. Gentes, tom. i.). Epiphanius (de Mens. xvii), Sozomen (v. 19), and Theodoret (H.E. iii. 6) simply refer to Babylas as a martyr while Jerome (de Script. Eccl. liv. lxii) describes all accounts mentioned previously. The Acta of St. Babylas (Acta. S.S. Jan. 24) describe his martyrdom occurring under Numerian, mistaking Emperor Decius (according to Baronius' conjecture, ad. ann. 253, § 126) with a certain Numerius, who was an officer in Decian Army (Tillemont, M.E., iii. 729). St. Babylas was greatly revered by his people when he prevented Emperor Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244-249) from entering a church until he repented his murder of Gordian (according to Eusebius, H.E. vi. 34, but asserted without qualification by St. Chrysostom, as above, while the V. St. Chrys. in Att. S.S. Sept. tom. iv. 439, transfers the story, against all probability, to Decius, and assigns it as the cause of St. Babylas' martyrdom). His fame primarily increased when his relics defeated the Emperor Julian the Apostate (in A.D. 362) at the Grove of Daphne. The martyr silenced the oracle of Apollo (Amm. Marcell. xxii; Julian Imp. Misopog. Opp. ii. 97, Paris, 1630; St. Chrys. Hom. de St. Baby. c. Gent. and Hom. de St. Bab.; Theodoret de Cur. Graec. Affect. x. and H.E. iii. 6,7; Socrat. iii. 13; Sozom. v. 19,20; Rufin. x. 35; Ammian. Marcell. xxii. pp. 225,226). Philip Schaff (A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers..., vol. ix, pp. 131,132) also gives an account of the Saint's encounter with Julian. Several other sources reveal that St. Babylas was accompanied in martyrdom by either three boys or three young men (St. Chrys. Hom. de St. Bab.; Theodoret, H.E. iii. 6; Philostorgius, vii. 8; Suidas, S. V. Βαβύλας). It has also been said that the Arian Bishop of Antioch, Leontius, wrote about St. Babylas' life approximately in A.D. 352 (Chron. Alex. p. 630). The Eastern Orthodox Church celebrates his feast day on the fourth of September, while the Western Church honours his martyrdom on the twentyfourth of January.
5. The virgin martyr Pelagia of Antioch descended from a noble family. She was to be arrested by the authorities for being a Christian. In order to preserve her chastity, she committed suicide by throwing herself into the sea from a window of her house which was located on a cliff (F.L. Cross, The Oxford Dictionary, op. cit., p. 1039). One source says that Pelagia had a mother named Domnina who also committed suicide with her by drowning (Ruinart,

A.A. Sinc. pp. 520 and 576). In addition, St. Ambrose of Milan (De Virgin. lib. iii. cap. 7, and Epist. 37 ad Simplicianum) and St. John Chrysostom (PG, t. i. 579-585) also testify to Pelagia's heroic deed (see also Canon of the Ambrosian Mass and St. Ambrose, PL, xvi. 229-232 and 1093). It is uncertain under which Roman Emperor she was martyred, although according to some scholars this must have been under the emperor Numerian (A.D. 282-284). F.L. Cross speculates that Pelagia was a fifteen year old girl who probably was martyred in A.D. 311 under Diocletian. St. Pelagia is honoured on the ninth of June in the West, and on the eighth of October in the East.

6. Little is known about Juventius and Maximinus. They were soldiers in the Roman army during the last year of the reign of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 360-361; Threskeutike kai Ethike Enkyklopaideia, Athens, vol. 6, pl. 920.). They were beheaded under Julian. The Basilian Menology only mentions Juventius under the ninth of October (Theod. H.E., iii. 15; Boll. Acta S.S. 25 Jan. ii. 619; Fleury, H.E., xv. s. 22; Bas. Men.; Wace and Smith, A Dictionary... op. cit., vol. iii, p. 599).
7. Two conflicting traditions exist concerning Lucian. One tradition implies that Lucian the martyr and theologian (Euseb. Εκκλ. Ιστορία 9,6,3,8,13,2) was different from Lucian the excommunicated heretic and pupil of Paul of Samosata (Threskeutike... op. cit. pp. 396-397). The other tradition considers that Lucian the martyr and Lucian the heretic were identical in the light of concrete statements made to this effect by Alexander of Alexandria (Theodoret, H.E. ii. 14 and 15; see also Epiphanius, Ancorat. cap. 33; and Soz. H.E., iii, 5 ; Smith and Wace, A Dictionary... vol. iii, pp. 748-749). The following sources also corroborate with the former: Alexander of Alexandria in an encyclical epistle; Epiphanius, Πανάριον 69,6. PG 42, 12; 76,3 PG 42, 520, and 43, I, PG 41, 817). This second tradition appears to be the popular view among scholars except for Loofs and Bardy who have recently argued that the one is the pupil of Paul of Samosata and heretic and the other is the martyr and teacher of Arius. Greek scholars, however, were doubtful, from the very beginning, in identifying the heretic and the martyr (K. Οικονομος, Περί τῶν ὁξουνευσιῶν, Δ' 498, σμ. γ. Κοντογόννης, Φιλολογικὴ καὶ Κοιτικὴ Ιστορία, A, 560). Μπαλάνος also affirms that it would be impossible for a heretic to be venerated as a saint in the Church. This school of thought states that St. John Chrysostom would not have praised Lucian in A.D. 387 (PG 50, col. 519-526) and neither would the Σύνοψις of the Scripture ascribed to St. Athanasius (PG 28, col. 436) label him as a saint and martyr if he was a heretic.
8. Bernice, Prosdoce, and their mother Domnina were Christian residents of Antioch who at the outbreak

of the Diocletianic persecutions escaped to Edessa. Their journey to Edessa, however, granted them the opportunity to embrace martyrdom. Domnina's husband was a soldier in the Roman army. Immediately upon their escape, he pursued them in order to bring them back. The ladies drowned themselves in order to escape the horrible and inhuman treatment that would have awaited them. Eusebius (H.E. vii. 12) describes this story, but unfortunately, does not mention their names. It is Chrysostom that mentions their names in the sermon he preached on their feast day. Smith and Wace say that this sermon was given within twenty days of the Feast Day of the Cross Chrys. t. I, Hom., 51). Loukakis draws conclusions from various portions of Chrysostom's sermon suggesting that the sermon was delivered around A.D. 392 and definitely on April 14, twenty days after Holy Friday in that year (Loukakis, The Works of St. John Chrysostom, Athens, 1970, vol. 5, p. 180). Loukakis also specifies that the ladies were martyred under the reign of Diocletian in A.D. 303. In addition, St. Augustine (de Civ. Dei. i. 26) assumes that Bernice, Prosdoce, and Domnina received a special divine revelation that justified their martyrdom by suicide (Smith and Wace, A Dictionary..., vol. i, p. 876).

9. Two martyrs from Palestine are honoured with the name of Romanos (Threskeutike... op. cit. vol. 10, p. 913). They were both deacons and exorcists of the Church of Caesarea. One was martyred under the reign of Diocletian in A.D. 258 and the second one was martyred under Maximinus in A.D. 305 (Ibid.). Each had their tongues cut out and they both died in prison for encouraging Christians towards martyrdom. They share the same feast day on the eighteenth of November. Chrysostom, in both of his homilies, seems to be honouring the second Romanos. The second Romanos was martyred because he prevented the prefect Asclepiades from entering a pagan temple. A seven year old child named Barulas was also imprisoned with Romanos. The child confessed the Christian faith and subsequently was beheaded. This story is told in the following sources: Eusebius Mart. Palest. cap. 2; lib. 2, de Resurrect. et Ascens. Dom.; Prudentius Hymn 10; Chrysostom t. i. Orat. 43 and 48; and Ruinart in Acta Sinc., gathers all the authorities.

10. Eustathius "The Great" (Theodoret H.E., i. 7) was born after A.D. 250 in Side of Pamphilia (Hieron. de Vir. Illus. c. 85). Nothing is known about his youth except of the title of confessor given to by St. Athanasius on several occasions (Athanasius' Hist. Arian. § 5; and tom. i. pp. 702, 812). Eustathius bore witness and suffered for the Christian faith under Diocletian's persecution. He was also tremendously admired for his virtues, his knowledge, oratory skill, and staunch opposition of Arianism (Soz. H.E. i. 2; ii, 19; Theod. H.E., i. 20). His first bishopric was that of Berrhoea

in Syria. He was later translated to the See of Antioch c. A.D. 324-331. Theodoret claims that Eustathius was the direct successor of Philogonius; however, the Chronicle of Jerome (endorsed by Theophanes and others) informs that a certain Paulinus assumed the episcopal throne momentarily (Tillemont vol.vii, p. 22, note i. p. 646). St. Eustathius, being an influential bishop, assumed one of the first seats among the assembled prelates, if not the first, at the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicea in A.D. 325. There are conflicting reports as to his claim to the first seat (Facundus viii. 4; The Allocutio ad Imperatorem of Labbe; Concil. ii. 633; Theodoret H.E. i. 7; Sozomen H.E. i. 19; Eusebius de Vit. Const. iii. II). At the Synod's conclusion, he returned to Antioch where he immediately expelled many of his clergy for Arian tendencies (Athan. Hist. Arian. § 5). Eustathius also encountered trouble with the two Eusebii - Eusebius of Caesarea and Eusebius of Nicomedia - which contributed to his downfall. Eustathius, a very conservative orthodox, condemned Eusebius of Caesarea's subtle methods of disguising his heretical tendencies. Eusebius of Caesarea, in return, charged Eustathius with Sabellianism, secured the aid of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and swayed the emperor to his side (Soc. H.E. i. 23; Soz. H.E. ii. 18; Theod. H.E. i. 21) and (Ambrose. de Obit. Theod. 42). Eustathius quietly relinquished his episcopal throne (Soc. H.E. i. 24; Soz. H.E. ii. 19; Theod. H.E. i. 21; Philost. H.E. ii. 7; Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 59). He was deposed c. A.D. 330 or 331 in the reign of Constantius (Jerome de Vir. Illust. c. 85; Athanasius Hist. Arian. §5; see also Tillemont. Mem. Eccl. vol. vii. note 3; sur Saint Eustathe; Wetter, Restitutio verae chronology. rerum contra Arian. gest.; De Broglie, L' Eglise et l' Empire, ch. vii.). According to St. Jerome, Eustathius was exiled to Trajanopolis of Thrace. The majority of his time in exile, however, was spent in Philippi. He died in Philippi c. A.D. 337. St. Eustathius' feast day is celebrated on the sixteenth of July.

11. St. John Chrysostom preached this homily on martyrdom on the feast day of several martyrs, whose names were not mentioned. The first he preached in a rural area where the martyrs' relics were located. The second homily was delivered in the city of Antioch (Loukakis, op. cit., p. 213.). The first homily speaks against those who visit the martyrs' graves seeking to have a good time instead of venerating the relics and seeking instruction from the martyrs. In the second homily, Chrysostom develops the significance of the martyrs' sacrifices and the great value that their heroic death has for every season and for every Christian.

12. Julian was born in Anazarbus in Cilicia. His father was a Greek senator and his mother was a Christian (Smith and Wace, A Dictionary... op. cit., vol. iii, p. 482) who taught him the Christian faith. In his

eighteenth year, he was presented with an opportunity for martyrdom. The eparch Marcian commanded him to either sacrifice to the idols or die. Julian's mother encouraged him towards martyrdom which he gladly accepted. Consequently, Julian, was imprisoned alive in a sack filled with venomous snakes and he was thrown into the sea. The martyr's body floated to the Cilician town of Alexandria where it was buried by a widow (Basil. Menol; Menol., Graec. Sirlet). Furthermore, the Bollandists (Mart. ii. 421) believe that this is the same Julian that Chrysostom commemorates in his panegyric homily (PG, t. 1. col. 666). However, St. John Chrysostom mentions that St. Julian's relics were at Antioch (§4 p. 671) at that time.

13. Saint Drosida was a virgin who was martyred in a furnace. She was probably a resident of Antioch. Not much information can be found on this martyr except for what Chrysostom mentions in his homily about her (PG, t. 50, col. 683-694).
14. Before his transfer to Antioch in A.D. 360, St. Meletius was Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia (Dom Chrysostomus Baur, John Chrysostom and His Time, vol.i, London, 1959, p. 50). His orthodox enthronement sermon on Proverbs 8:22 caused the Emperor Constantius immediately to exile him because he was accused of Sabellianism (Modalism; Cross, The Oxford...op. cit., p. 884). This particular exile did not last very long since Constantius died on November 3, A.D. 361, and Julian, the nephew of the late emperor who assumed the throne allowed toleration of all religions upon which Meletius returned to Antioch in A.D. 362. The unfortunate Meletius, upon his return to Antioch, failed to gain the support of Saint Athanasius for rightful claim to his See and under the reign of Valens, he was exiled twice (from A.D. 365-366 and A.D. 371-378), only to be restored as the Orthodox Bishop of Antioch in A.D. 378. He presided at the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople in A.D. 381, but died before the Synod's conclusion. He did not die as a martyr but according to Chrysostom, his exiles and tribulations for the faith and especially his ascetical life gained him the title of martyr. Hence on his death, in A.D. 381, he was buried beside St. Babylas the Martyr. St. Meletius' feast day is celebrated on the twelfth of February.
15. Diodore of Tarsus, like Meletius of Antioch, did not die a martyr's death, but was regarded by Chrysostom as a martyr because he inflicted on himself self-mortification for the sake of Christ. Diodore, born in Antioch approximately in A.D. 325, was elevated to the episcopate as Bishop of Antioch in A.D. 379.
16. Chrysostom delivered this homily seven days after Pentecost on the Feast Day of All Saints. He gathered all of the faithful Christians in order to give them courage by the example of these faithful Saints and

Martyrs who confronted life with self-denial and death with heroism. Chrysostom says that the aforementioned are the reasons that made these people worthy of living a life in heaven. He also says that the life of a good Christian results in a triumphant campaign. Furthermore, death which is from penalty and judgement, is converted to a reward - the soul's eternity (Loukakis, op. cit., p. 301).

17. Barlaam was an uneducated, elderly man when he was martyred under Diocletian (Smith and Wace, op.cit., vol. i, p. 260). The special torment that he overcame was that he withstood burning coals on the back of his hand until his flesh melted off. He died in prison (St. Basil, M. Hom. de St. Barl., xviii; St. Chrysostom Hom. de St. Barl., lxxiii; cf. also PG, t. 31, col. 484-489). Also an apostrophe by Saint Basil concerning Barlaam was made into an actual picture by the Ecumenical Council of Nicea in A.D. 787. This case was specifically mentioned by the Council as evidence in the Iconoclastic Controversy (Act., iv. Labb. vii. 272).

18. St. Phocas is a celebrated martyr of the Church, whose feast day is celebrated by the Greek Orthodox Church on two days, July 23 and September 22, and by the Western Church, on July 23. Tillemont suggested that July 23 may have been the date of the translation of his relics (Mém. eccl. v. 581). The date of his martyrdom seems to be uncertain. Combefis believes that he was martyred under the emperor Trajan, while Tillemont suggests that he died either under Decius or Diocletian (the most probable). Knowledge of St. Phocas can be found in an oration given to his honour by Asterius, Bishop of Amasea in A.D. 400, who says that Phocas was an honest gardener, a convert to Christianity, and someone who was very hospitable to strangers. He had his head decapitated by the authorities and a church was built over his relics. Tradition has it that his relics performed so many miracles, that he was given the title of Thaumaturgus. Furthermore, his relics were translated to Constantinople under the episcopate of St. John Chrysostom who delivered the present homily in his honour. A monastery was subsequently built over the new site of his relics (Du Cange, Constant. Christ. lib. iv. p. 133). St. Gregory Nazianzen mentions St. Phocas as being an outstanding disciple of Christ (Carm. 52, t. ii., p. 122).

19. The Maccabees, commemorated in St. John Chrysostom's three panegyric homilies, are the seven Jewish brothers and their mother who are mentioned in II Maccabees 7 of the Old Testament. This family is also referred to in Hebrews II: 35 which inspired many Church Fathers to write about them including St. Gregory Nazianzen (Serm. 15) and St. Augustine (Serm. 300-2). Their relics were honoured at Antioch which was the scene of their deaths, and also at S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome (Lammas Day = August 1).

Their feast day is celebrated on August 1 in both East and West. This is the sole feast in the Western Church of Old Testament Saints that has widespread observance.

THE PRIMARY NOTION OF MARTYRDOM

a. Martyrdom by death

1. In S. Lucianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 522.

καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε, εἰ βάπτισμα τὸ μαρτύριον ἐκάλεσα
καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ Πνεῦμα μετὰ πολλῆς ἐφίπταται
τῆς δαψιλείας, καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀναίρεσις καὶ ψυχῆς
γίνεται καθαρὸς θαυμαστός τις καὶ παράδοξος.

2. Ibid., col. 522,523.

καὶ ὥπερ οἱ βαπτίζομενοι τοῖς ὕδασι, οὕτως οἱ
μαρτυροῦντες τῷ ἰδίῳ λούονται αἵματι, ὃ δὴ καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ γεγένηται.

3. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 638.

4. Ibid., col. 638,639.

καὶ εἰ βούλει μαθεῖν, ὅτι βάπτισμα ἦν σαφές τὸ τότε
γεγόμενον, ἀκουσον πῶς ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν θάνατον τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ βάπτισμα καλεῖ. Τοῖς γὰρ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου παισὶ
διαλεγόμενος, "Τὸ μὲν ποτήριον μου πῖεσθαι", φησὶ, "καὶ
τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε" (ΜΚ
10:38). Ποῖον δὲ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθη ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ
τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν
σταυρὸν;

5. Ibid., col. 639.

οὐκ ἔτι τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ λέγει, ἀλλ'
ὅτι συμμορφούμεθα τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ.

6. Ibid., col. 638.639.

ὥπερ οὖν Ἰάκωβος οὐχὶ σταυρωθεὶς, ἀλλὰ μαχαίρᾳ
τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποθέμενος τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθη τοῦ
Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ αὗται, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐσταυρώθησαν,
ἀλλὰ δι' ὕδατος τελειωθεῖσαι τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθησαν
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβάπτισε δὲ αὐτὰς ἡ μήτηρ. Τί λεγεις;
γυνὴ βαπτίζει; Ναι τὰ τοιαῦτα βαπτίσματα καὶ γυναῖκες
βαπτίζουνσι, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἐκείνη τότε καὶ ἐβάπτισε,
καὶ ἱερεῖα γέγονε καὶ γὰρ θύματα προσήγαγε λογικά,
καὶ χειροτονία αὐτῇ ἡ προαίρεσις γέγονε καὶ τὸ δὴ
θαυμαστόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδεήθη θυσιαστηρίου θύουσα, οὐδὲ
ξύλων, οὐδὲ πυρός, οὐδὲ μαχαίρας πάντα γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁ

ποταμός, καὶ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ μάχαιρα,
καὶ πῦρ, καὶ θυσία, καὶ βάπτισμα, βάπτισμα πολλῶ
τουτοῦ τοῦ βαπτίσματος σαφέστερον.

7. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 689.

καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρρησίας, τῶν οὐρανίων ἁψίδων
ἐπεβαίνεν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἁοράτῳ χειρὶ τὴν ἁγίαν
τῆς μάρτυρος κατεχόντος κεφαλὴν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν
ὕδατι βαπτίζοντος αὐτὴν τῷ πυρί.

8. De Maccabaeis, Homilia II, PG 50, col. 625.

καὶ ὡς εἰς πηγὴν ναμάτων ψυχρῶν, οὕτως εἰς τοὺς
λεβήτας ἐκυβίστα, λουτρον αὐτοὺς θεῖον καὶ βάπτισμα
ναμίζων.

9. Ibid., col. 624.

Ἐστεφανωμένοι γὰρ ἐκάθηντο, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς
ἀγῶσιν οἱ δικάσται, οὐχὶ κρίνοντες τοῖς παλαίσμασιν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν στεφανίτην ἐπείγομενοι λαβεῖν.

10. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. VII, PG 50,
col. 509, 510.

Ἐβάσταζε δέ, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτὸ φέρῃ μόνος, ἀλλ' ἵνα
ἅπαντας τοιούτους ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ βαστάζειν διὸ ἔλεγε,
"Μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς" καὶ
πάλιν, "Ἄ εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε ἐν ἐμοί, ταῦτα
πρασσετε" καὶ πάλιν, "Ἡμῖν ἔχαρισθη, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς
αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν"
(Φιλίπ. 3:7 καὶ 4:9 καὶ 1:29). Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
παρόντος ἀξιώματα βίου τότε μείζονα φαίνεται, ὅταν εἰς
ἓνα περιστῇ μόνον ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν τουναντίον
τότε μάλιστα λαμπρὴ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς, ὅταν πολλοὺς
τῆς προεδρίας ἔχῃ κοινωνοὺς, καὶ ὅταν ὁ μετέχων
μὴ εἰς ἡ, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔχῃ τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολαύνον-
τας... Εἰ δὲ λέγοις, καὶ πῶς δυνατόν ἐκεῖνον
μιμησασθαι, ἀκούσον τί φησὶ "Μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε,
καθὼς καὶ γὼ Χριστοῦ" (Α' Κορ. 11:1).

11. Ibid., col. 510.

Ἐκεῖνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέγονε μιμητής.

12. Ibid., col. 508.

Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος σημεῖον βαστάζει, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ
βασιλεws, ἀλλὰ τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ ἁνω Χριστοῦ, καὶ
προηδoῦνται οὐκ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἄγγελοι, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν
τοῦ βασταζομένου, καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ φέροντος.

13. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. IV, PG 50, col. 492. Cf. also Adversus Judaeos IV, PG 48, col. 874-875.
14. De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col. 647.
15. Ibid., col. 647.
16. Ibid., col. 647.
- 16a. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 708.
17. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 668.
18. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 592.
19. Adversus Judaeos VII, PG 48, col. 918-919.
20. Ibid., col. 813 A.
21. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia V, PG 50, col. 497, 498.
22. De Ferendis Reprehens. Et De Mutat. Nominum III, PG 51, col. 139-140.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 592.
26. Ibid., col. 594.
- 26a. Ibid., col. 593.
27. Homilia In Martyres, PG 50, col. 664.
- 27a. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 709.
 Σὺ δὲ ἀκούσας κλίμακα σιδηρᾶν, ἀναμνήσθητι κλίμακος νοητῆς, ἣν εἶδεν ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν τεταμένην δι' ἐκείνης κατεβαίνον ἄγγελοι, διὰ ταύτης δὲ ἀναβαίνουνσι μάρτυρες ἑκάτερα δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἐπεστήρικτο. Οὐκ ἂν ἤνεγκαν τὰς ὀδύνας οἱ ἅγιοι οὐτί εἰ μὴ ταύτη ἐπηρείδοντο. Ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνης μὲν ἀναβαίνουνσι καὶ καταβαίνουνσιν ἄγγελοι, διὰ ταύτης δὲ ὅτι ἀναβαίνουνσι καὶ μάρτυρες παντί του δήλον. Τί δηποτε; Ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πρὸς διακονίαν ἀποστέλλονται τῶν μελλόντων κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν, οὗτοι δὲ καθάπερ ἀθληταὶ καὶ στεφανῖται ἀπαλλαγέντες τῶν ἀγώνων ἀπῆλθον λοιπὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀγνοθετήν.
- 27b. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia IV, PG 50, col. 494.

28. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 594.
29. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, PG col. 503.
30. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia I, PG 50, col. 580.
31. Ibid., col. 580.
32. XI Homilia, De Eleazaro Et Septem Pueris, PG 63, col. 525.
33. Ibid. col. 525.
 Διόπερ οὐκ ἂν τις ἁμάρτοι τῶν μαρτύρων τὴν ψυχὴν
 νύμφην προσειπών, νύμφην πνευματικὴν ἐπὶ καὶ προῖκα
 τὸ αἷμα εἰσφέρουσι, προῖκα μηδέποτε δαπανωμένην.

b. The results of a martyrdom by death

i. The martyr as a channel of the power
of God

1. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 593.
2. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 709.
3. Ibid., col. 709.
4. In Illud. Vidi Dominum, Homilia III, PG 56, col. 112.
5. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 669.
6. Ibid., col. 669, 670.
 Οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τὸν οὐρανὸν λαμπρὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν οἱ τῶν
 ἀστρῶν χοροὶ, ὥς τὸ τοῦ μαρτυροῦ σῶμα λαμπρότερον
 ἀπέφηναν οἱ τῶν τραυμάτων ἰχῶρες. Καὶ ἵνα μάθητε ὅτι
 τὰ τραύματα τοῦ μαρτυροῦ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ πεπηγότων
 ἀστρῶν λαμπρότερα, σκοπεῖτε. Πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν τὸν
 οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ δαίμονες
 βλέπουσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ τραύματα τούτου ἄνθρωποι
 μὲν βλέπουσιν οἱ πιστοί, δαίμονες δὲ ἀντιβλέψαι οὐ
 τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιχειρήσωσιν ἰδεῖν, εὐθὺς
 ἀποτυφλοῦνται τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπηδῶσαν
 μαρμαρυγὴν οὐ δυνάμενοι φέρειν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ
 τῶν παλαι συμβεβηκότων πιστώσομαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτι καὶ νῦν γινομένων... Εἶδες πῶς τῶν,

οὐρανίων ἀστέρων τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων τραύματα φαιδρότερα
καὶ θαυμαστότερα, καὶ μείζονα ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν;

7. De Maccabaeis, Homilia I, PG 50, col. 617.
8. Ibid., col. 617.
9. Ibid., col. 617.
10. Ibid., col. 618.
11. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. V, PG 50, col. 497.
12. De Maccabaeis, Homilia I, PG 50, col. 618.
13. Ibid., col. 618.
14. Ibid., col. 618.
15. Ibid., col. 619.
16. Ibid., col. 619.
17. In SS. Petrum Et Heliam, PG 50, col. 725.

ii. The martyr's intercession

1. De S. Basso Martyre, PG 50, col. 719, opera dubia.
2. II Homilia, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrum, Etc., PG 63, col. 471-472. Here, Chrysostom states that the Holy Martyrs become participants in our prayers (...τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας κοινωνοὺς τῶν εὐχῶν).
3. III Homilia, Dicta Praesente Imperatore, PG 63, col. 473. This states: "The power of the martyrs is greater in heaven than on earth. If they received so many honours here on earth, imagine what greater prizes they will receive at the time of recompense" (Εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοσαύτη τῶν μαρτύρων ἡ δύναμις ἐννόησον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἡλικὴ εἰ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν παλαιμάτων τοιαῦται αὐτῶν αἱ τιμαί, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἡλικά ἐσται τὰ βραβεῖα).

c. Themes associated with a martyrdom by death

1. Martyrdom and humility

1. De Petitione Filiorum Zebedae, Contra Anomoeans VIII, PG 48, col. 776-778.

2. Ibid.

Ἰδοὺ γοῦν τοῦτοις προεῖπον, ὅτι μαρτυρήσουσι μὲν, οὐ πάντως δὲ τῶν πρωτείων τεύξονται εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ καὶ μείζονα δυνάμενοι ἐπιδείξασθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶν ἔλεγε, Τὸ μὲν ποτήριον μου πῖεσθε, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε. Τὸ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν καθίσαι καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, οὐχ ὅτι καθίζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μείζονος ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς, τὸ τῶν πρωτείων ἐπιτυχεῖν, τὸ ἀνωτέρω πάντων γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ἔστι, φησὶν τὸ τοίνυν καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, συγκαταβαίνων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ φησὶν... Τοῦτο οὖν αὐτό, φησί, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμᾶς μείζους φανῆναι, καὶ πάντων ἀνωτέρους, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦτο μόνου λαβεῖν ἀποθανεῖσθε μὲν γὰρ τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἀπολαῦσαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις οἷς ἡτοιμάσται.

3. Ibid.

Εἰ προεδρίας ἐράτε, φησί, καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς, τὰ ἔσχατα διώκετε, τὸ πάντων εὐτελέστεροι εἶναι, τὸ πάντων ταπεινότεροι, τὸ πάντων μικρότεροι, τὸ μετὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑαυτοῖς τάττειν. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐκείνην δίδωσι τὴν τιμὴν.

3a. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Ὅρᾳς ὅτι τοῦτο, ἐβούλοντο, τὸ πρῶτοι γενέσθαι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἀνωτεροί, καὶ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν; Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦτο ἰστάμενος, καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτῶν εἰς μέσον ἐξαγὼν ἔλεγεν, Ὁ θέλων ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος ἔστω πάντων διάκονος.

5. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 636.

Ὅταν γὰρ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ὅπερ καὶ αὐταὶ ἀκούσασαι ἐφυγον, καὶ τέως εἰς αὐταῖς ἐπλέκετο στέφανος ποῖος δὴ οὗτος; Ὁ τῆς τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων ὑπεροψίας.

1. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 602.
2. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 587.
3. Adversus Judaeos VIII, PG 48, col. 940.

4. Adversus Judaeos VIII, PG 48, col. 940.

ἂν διαρκούσῃ τὰς ἐπώδᾳς καὶ τὰς φαρμακείας καὶ τὰς μαγγανείας, καὶ ἀποθάνῃς τῇ νόσῳ, μάρτυς ἀπηρτισμένως εἰ ὅτι ἀπαλλαγὴν μετὰ ἄσεβείας ἐπαγγελομένων ἑτέρων εἴλου θάνατον μετ' εὐσεβείας μᾶλλον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν εἴρηται πρὸς τοὺς κομπάζοντας καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι θεραπεύουσι δαίμονες, ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἀκούσον τι φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, "Ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς".

5. Ibid., col. 938.

Εὖγε, εὖγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὁ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ὁ πιστὸς ἀνὴρ, ὁ ἀθλητὴς τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁ τοῖς δεινοῖς αἰρούμενος ἐναποθανεῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ προδοῦναι τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν εὐσέβειαν, μετὰ τῶν μαρτύρων στήσῃ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μαστίζεσθαι καὶ βασανίζεσθαι εἴλοντο, ἵνα τιμηθῶσιν, οὕτω καὶ σὺ σήμερον εἴλου μαστίζεσθαι καὶ βασανίζεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πυρετοῦ καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥστε μὴ προσίεσθαι ἄσεβεῖς ἐπώδᾳς, μηδὲ περίαπτα, καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι ταύταις τρεφόμενος, οὐδὲ αἰσθήσῃ τῶν ἀντικειμένων δεινῶν.

6. Ad Eos Qui Scandalizat Sunt. Lib. Unus., PG 52, col. 518-520.

Ἐννόησαν ὅσοι καὶ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀνεδήσαντο. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐμαστιγώθησαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς δεσμοτήριον ἐνεβλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλύσεις ὥς κακοῦργοι περιέκειντο, οἱ δὲ πατρίδος ἐξέπεσον, οἱ δὲ οὐσίαν ἀπέβαλον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερορίαν μετωκίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ μὲν καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ οἱ δὲ καὶ μόνῃ τῇ γυνάμῃ.

7. Ibid.,

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐκεῖνοι οἱ εἰς δικαστήριον ἐκλυσθέντες, καὶ θῦσαι κελευσθέντες, καὶ μὴ πεισθέντες, παθόντες ἅπερ ἐπαθον, μάρτυρες ἂν εἶεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὑπὲρ ὅτου οὖν τῶν τῷ θεῷ δοκούντων παθεῖν τι καταδεξάμενοι.

8. Ibid.
 ὅτι δὲ οὐχ οἱ σφαγέοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
 παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ γινόμενοι πρὸς τοῦτο ἑτοιμοὶ
 μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀνεδήσαντο.
9. Ibid.
 Καὶ Ἰωάννης δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ θῦσαι κελευθεὶς καὶ μὴ
 καταδεξάμενος ἐσφάγη, οὔδε εἰς βωμὸν ἀχθεὶς, οὔδε
 πρὸς εἶδωλον ἐλκυσθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ῥήματος ἑνός.
 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπε τῷ Ἡρώδῃ, οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι ἔχειν τὴν
 γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον
 ὤκησε, καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἐκείνην ὑπέμεινε. Εἰ δὲ ὁ
 γάμον παρανομούμενον ἐκδικήσας, τὸ γέ εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἦκον (οὔδε γὰρ διώρθωσε τὸ κακῶς γεγεννημένον, ἀλλ'
 εἶπε μόνον, παῦσαι δὲ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν), εἰ τοίνυν ὁ
 μόνον εἰπὼν, καὶ μηδὲν οἰκοθεν ἢ τοῦτο εἰσενεγκὼν,
 ἔπειδὴ ἀπετιμήθη, μάρτυς, καὶ μαρτύρων ἐστὶ πρῶτος,
 οἱ τοσαύτας σφαγὰς προσδοκήσαντες, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς
 Ἡρώδην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας τῆς οἰκουμένης
 ἀπάσης ἀποδυσάμενοι, καὶ οὐχὶ γὰρ παρανομουμένῳ,
 ἀλλὰ νόμοις πατρώοις καὶ θεσμοῖς Ἐκκλησίας
 ἐπηρεασθεῖσι παραστάντες, καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ
 διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι, καὶ
 καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντες, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ
 γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶεν δίκαιοι
 μυριάκις εἰς τὸν τῶν μαρτύρων καταλεγῆναι χορόν;
10. Adversus Judaeos VIII, PG 48, col. 939-940.
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸ κελευσθῆναι θῦσαι, εἴτα ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον
 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ θῦσαι, ποιεῖ μάρτυρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 ὀτιοῦν φυλάττοντα μόνον δυνάμενον θάνατον
 ἐπισπασσθαι, μαρτύριον ἐστὶ σαφές.
11. Adversus Judaeos VIII, PG 48, col. 939-940.
 Οὐδέτερος γὰρ τούτων οὐ βωμὸν εἶδε καίόμενον, οὐ
 ἑσθλὸν ἐστηκός, οὐ θῦσαι ἐπετάγη δαίμοσιν ἀλλ' ὁ
 μὲν, ἔπειδὴ μόνον ἠλεγξε τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀπετιμήθη
 τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὁ δὲ ἔπειδὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐτίμησε θυσία
 πλείονι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατεσφάττετο. Ἄρ' οὖν
 ἀπεστέρηνται τῶν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στεφάνων; Καὶ
 τίς ἂν τοῦτο τολμήσειεν εἰπεῖν; Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος ἱκανὸς ἅπαντας
 πείσαι, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν μαρτύρων
 τελοῦσιν.

12. Ad Eos Qui Scandalizat Sunt. Lib Unus., PG 52, 520.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραάμ, μὴ σφάξας τῇ πείρᾳ τὸν υἱόν,
 τῇ προθέσει ἔσφαξε, καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουσεν ἄνωθεν
 λεγούσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ
 δι' ἐμέ. Οὕτω πανταχοῦ καὶ ἡ γνώμη, ὅταν
 ἀπηρτισμένη ᾖ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὁλόκληρον λαμβάνει
 τὸν στέφανον.

3. The martyr's death

1. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 529.2. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 594.3. De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50,
col. 549,550.4. Ibid., col. 550.5. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre, Homilia I, PG 50,
col. 579.6. Ibid., col. 5817. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 671.8. Expositio In Psalmum CX, PG 55, col. 281-282.9. Ibid.10. Ibid.11. Ibid.12. Ibid.

Ὡς ὁ γε καθαρὸν ἔχων συνειδὸς, ἐπὶ τὰ βραβεῖα
 τρέχει, πρὸς τὸν στέφανον ἀναχωρεῖ.

13. Ibid.

Cf. Romans 8:23; Philip. 2:17-18.

14. Ibid.14a. In Illud. Isale, Ego Dominus Deus Feci Lumen, Etc.,
PG 56, col. 148.

Τίμιος ἐναντίον Κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ
 οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλ' ὁ τοιόσδε θάνατος. Καὶ
 πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ, θάνατος ἁμαρτωλῶν πονηρός. Ὁρᾷ
 καὶ τοῦτο τῶν μέσων, οὐχ ἀπλῶς καλόν, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς

κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ὑποδεχομένων αὐτό.

15. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia II, PG 50, col. 480.

16. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, PG 50, col. 503,504.

17. Ibid., col. 503,504.

18. Ibid., col. 504.

19. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce , PG 50, col. 633.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

Cf. Philip. 1:23 (τὸ ἀναλαῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι πολλῷ (γὰρ) μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

Cf. Ibid., col. 633,634. Chrysostom states, "Paul said that this life is good but the future is much better" (καλὴν μὲν ἡ παρούσα ζωὴ, φησί, πολὺ δὲ βελτίων ἡ μέλλουσα).

Cf. Ibid., col. 634. Chrysostom states, "Paul says that he does not die but that he goes to a better life" (οὐκ ἀποθνήσκω, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν μείζονα ἀναβαίνω ζωὴν).

24. Ibid., col. 634.

Ἀνάπαυσις γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ πόνων ἀπαλλαγὴ, καὶ ἰδρώτων ἀντίδοσις, καὶ ἀμοιβὴ παλαισμάτων καὶ στέφανος. Διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς κοπετοὶ τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ θρηνοὶ, νῦν δὲ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὕμνωδιαί.

Cf. Ibid., col. 634. Here Chrysostom also mentions that the dead advise the living to face death with courage. He gives Ps. 114:7 (or 116:7) as the proof text which states, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dwelt bountifully with thee".

Cf. Ibid., col. 634. "Death is a benefit and rest" (εὐεργεσίαν ὄντα τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν).

25. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 687.

Ἀλλ' ἔντεθ' ἔθεν μὲν, ὅτι τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν δαιμόνων ἔλεγχος ὁ τῶν μαρτύρων, ἔστι θάνατος, ἀποδέδεικται ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀναισθησίας αὐτῶν ἔστι κατηγορία τό πρᾶγμα, δῆλον ἔκείθεν.

26. Ibid., col. 691.

27. Ibid., col. 691.

Cf. Ibid., Ps. 33:22 (or 34:22).

28. Ibid., col. 692.

οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῦτο κυνὸς ἀθλιώτερον ἀποθανεῖν,
ἄνθρωπε, ἀλλὰ κυνὸς ἀθλιώτερον ἀποθανεῖν ἔστι τὸ
ἐν ἁμαρτία ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ τὸ ἐπ' ἁλλοτρίας καταλῦσαι
τὸν βίον.

29. Ibid., col. 692.

θάνατος ἁμαρτωλῶν πονηρός, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐνταῦθα
κατηγορίας, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐκεῖ κολάσεις.

30. Ibid., col. 692, 693, 694.

31. De S. Meletio Antiocheno, PG 50, col. 516.

Τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ καὶ συγγενείας κόσμον, καὶ οἰκίας
ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις σωτηρίαν, καὶ τοῦ
πόθου παραμυθίαν εἶναι ἐνόμιζον, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν
σκοτῷ καθήμενοι τινες μιᾶς λαμπάδος ἀφθείσης πολλοὺς
ἀνάψαντες λύχνους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἕκαστος εἰσάγει
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης
ὥσπερ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσοῦσης, ἕκαστος ὥσπερ
λύχνον ἀνάπτων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ
τοῦ μακαρίου τότε ἐκείνου ὄνομα, ὥσπερ τινὰ μυρίων
ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸν διὰ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπισπώμενος, καὶ ἦν
εὐλαβείας διδασκαλία τὸ γιγνόμενον. Συνεχῶς γὰρ
ἀναγκάζομενοι τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης μεμνησθαι, καὶ
τὸν ἅγιον ἐκείνον ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, παντὸς ἀλόγου
πάθους καὶ λογισμοῦ φυγαδευτήριον εἶχον τὸ ὄνομα,
καὶ οὕτω πολὺ γέγονε τοῦτο ὡς πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐν
ἀμφοδοῖς, καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς, καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς
τούτῳ πάντοθεν περιηχεῖσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι. Οὐ πρὸς
τὸ ὄνομα δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπάθετε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸν τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον. Ὅπερ γοῦν ἐν ὀνόμασιν
ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἐπράξατε τῆς
ἐκείνου. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν φιάλαις, καὶ ἐν θαλάμῳ
τοιχοῖς καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνην
διεχάραξαν πολλοὶ ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν τῆς ἁγίας
προσηγορίας ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶν αὐτοῦ πανταχοῦ
τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον, καὶ διπλὴν τινα τῆς
ἀποδημίας ἔχειν παραμυθίαν.

32. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 706.

33. Ibid., col. 706, 707.

34. Ibid., col. 707.

35. Ibid., col. 707.

36. Ibid., col. 707.

37. Ibid., col. 707.

38. Ibid., col. 707.

39. Ibid., col. 707.

40. Ibid., col. 707.

Ὁρᾶς σοφίαν θεοῦ, πῶς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ καφάλαιον τῆς ἡμετέρας συμφορᾶς, ὅπερ εἰσήγαγεν ὁ διάβολος, τὸν θάνατον λέγω, τοῦτον εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἡμετέραν μετέβαλε, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου βραβεῖα τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἄγων;

41. Ibid., col. 707.

Οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου (the devil's) γνώμης τὸ κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας τὸ χάρισμα.

42. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 629.

43. Ibid., col. 629.

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, γυνὴ θανάτου κατατολμᾷ, γυνὴ ἡ θάνατον εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσαγαγοῦσα τὴν ἡμετέραν, τὸ παλαιὸν ὄπλον τοῦ διαβόλου, τοῦτο τοῦ διαβόλου κατήνεγκε τὴν ἰσχύν, τὸ σκεῦος τὸ ἀσθενές καὶ εὐπηρεαστον τοῦτο γέγονε ὄπλον ἀκαταγώνιστον, γυναῖκες θανάτου κατατολμῶσι, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη.

44. Ibid., col. 629.

Τί γὰρ μείζον, εἰπέ μοι ζητεῖς σημεῖον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐκείνης, ὅταν ἴδῃς τοσαύτην μετάστασιν πραγμάτων γεγεννημένην; Γυναῖκες θανάτου κατατολμῶσι, πραγματος τοῦ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἁγίοις πρὸ τοῦτο φοβεροῦ καὶ φρικώδους ὄντος.

45. Ibid., col. 629.

Chrysostom says that death is an illness which has been rendered powerless by Christ, (μάθε αὐτοῦ τὴν προτέραν ἰσχύν, ἵνα μαθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν νῦν ἀσθενεῖαν, εὐχαριστήσης τῷ τέλει αὐτὸν ἐκνευρίσαντι Χριστῷ.

46. Ibid., col. 629.

Μάθε τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν φόβον, ἵνα ἴδῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν νῦν καταφρόνησιν, θαυμάσῃς τὸν τῆς

μεταβολῆς αἴτιον θεόν.

47. Ibid., col. 629,630.

Εἶδες πῶς ἀρίστη ἡ μετάστασις γέγονε; πῶς τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ἀσθενῇ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῇ ἰσχυρὰ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ θεός, ἐκατέρωθεν ἡμῖν δεικνὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν;

48. De S. Droside Marytre, PG 50, col. 685.

Μαρτύρων γὰρ θάνατος, πιστῶν ἐστὶ παράκλησις, Ἐκκλησιῶν παρρησία, Χριστιανισμοῦ σύστασις, θανάτου κατάλυσις, ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις, δαιμόνων γέλως, διαβόλου κατηγορία, φιλοσοφίας διδασκαλία, παραίνεσις τῆς ὑπεροφίας τῶν παρόντων, πραγμάτων, καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιθυμίας ὁδός, παραμυθία τῶν κατεχόντων ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, καὶ ὑπομονῆς πρόφασις, καρτερίας ἀφορμή, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ρίζα, καὶ πηγή, καὶ μήτηρ.

4. The martyr's soul

1. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 601.

Μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ εἰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀρχόμενος μάρτυρα τὸν ἅγιον ἐκάλεσα καὶ γὰρ οἰκείῳ τέλει τὴν ζωὴν κατέλυσεν πῶς οὖν ἐστὶ μάρτυς; Εἶπον πολλάκις πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, ὅτι μάρτυρα οὐχὶ ὁ θάνατος ποιεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γνώμης πλέκεται πολλάκις ὁ τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανος.

2. Ibid., col. 601.

Καὶ τοῦτον οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ Παῦλος δίδωσι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τὸν ὅρον οὕτως λέγων "καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω" (Α' Κορ. 15:31). Πῶς ἀποθνήσκεις καθ' ἡμέραν; Πῶς δυνατόν ἐνὶ σώματι θνητῷ μυρίους δεξασθαι θανάτους; Τῇ προθέσει, φησί, καὶ τῇ παρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τελευτήν.

3. Ibid. col. 601.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ μάρτυς (μάρτυρα γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξε) πρὸς μυρίους παρεσκευάσατο θανάτους, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπέμεινε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ.

4. Ibid., col. 604.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γενναίαν ἐκείνην καὶ
 φιλόσοφον ψυχὴν.
5. Ibid., col. 601.
 οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀποφαίνεται καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀβραάμ οὐχ
 ἤμαξε τὴν μάχαιραν, οὐκ ἐφοίνιξε τὸν βωμόν, οὐκ
 ἔθυσσε τὸν Ἰσαάκ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπῆρτισε τὴν θυσίαν τις
 ταῦτά φησιν; Αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν θυσίαν δεξάμενος. "Οὐκ
 ἐφείσω γάρ, φησί, τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι'
 ἐμέ" (Γεν. 22:12).
6. Ibid., col. 601.
 Καὶ μὴν ζῶντα ἔλαβε, καὶ ὑγιῇ κατήγαγε πῶς οὖν οὐκ
 ἐφείσατο; Ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ'
 ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως τῶν προελομένων, τὰς τοιαύτας
 κρίνω θυσίας ἐγώ, φησίν. Οὐκ ἔσφαξεν ἡ χεὶρ, ἀλλ'
 ἔσφαξεν ἡ προαίρεσις οὐκ ἐβάπτισε τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸν
 λαιμόν τοῦ παιδός, οὐ διέτεμε τὴν δέρην, ἀλλ' ἔστι
 θυσία καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος. Ἰσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ
 λεγόμενον διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐκείνη ἡ θυσία χωρὶς
 αἵματος ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ ταύτης ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι τύπος.
 Ὅρας ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ προδιαγραφομένην τὴν εἰκόνα; Μὴ
 ἀπιστήσης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.
7. Ibid., col. 601.
 Οὐκ ἔσφαξεν ἡ χεὶρ, ἀλλ' ἔσφαξεν ἡ προαίρεσις,
 οὐκ ἐβάπτισε τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸν λαιμόν τοῦ παιδός,
 οὐ διέτεμε τὴν δέρην, ἀλλ' ἔστι θυσία καὶ χωρὶς
 αἵματος.
8. Ibid.
9. In Cap. XXII Genes. Homilia XLVII, PG 54, col. 432-
 433.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
 Καθὰ περ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πρόβατον προσηνέχθη, ἀντὶ
 τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, οὕτως ὁ λογικὸς ἄμνος προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ
 τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἔδει γὰρ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ προδιαγραφῆναι
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

14. De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col. 645, 646.

Ποία γὰρ ἡδονὴν τρέχοντας εἰκὴ καὶ ἀπλῶς ἵππους ἰδεῖν; ἔνταῦθα δὲ οὐχὶ ἀλόγων ζευγος ὄρας, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων μυρία ἄρματα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς ἄρμασιν ἐφεστῶτα τούτοις, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁδὸν ἐλαύνοντα. Ὅτι γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἄρμα εἰσὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀκουσον τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ θεοῦ μυριοπλάσιον, χιλιάδες εὐθηνούντων. Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσι, τοῦτο ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φύσει. Ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ κάθηται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ψαλμὸς φησιν "Ἐπέδη ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, καὶ ἐπετάσθη" καὶ πάλιν, "Ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, καὶ βλέπων ἀβύσσους." Τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν πάλιν ἔδωκεν ἐπ' ἐκείνων κάθηται, ἐν ἡμῖν οἴκει: "Ἐνοικήσω γὰρ καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν." Ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν ἄρμα, ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα ναός. Εἶδες τῆς τιμῆς τὴν συγγένειαν; εἶδες πῶς εἰρηνόποιησε τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω; Διόπερ οὐδὲν διεστηκαμεν τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἂν θέλωμεν.

15. In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 616.

Αὕτη τῶν σῶν δαιμόνων ἡ λίσκος προσαίτησις ὁ ἐμὸς Δεσπότης, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότης, Χριστὸς οὐρανὸν οἴκει, καὶ κόσμον ἡνιοχεῖ, καὶ θυσία τούτῳ ψυχὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεύουσα, μία τούτῳ τροφή, τῶν πιστευόντων σωτηρία.

16. Ibid., col. 616.

Οὐ γὰρ οὕτω φοβοῦμαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον σίδηρον, ὥς τὸν ἐπιβώμιον πέλεκυν ὁ ἀνδροφόνος σίδηρος τὸ σῶμα διασπαράττει, ὁ ἐπιβώμιος πέλεκυς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναιρεῖ ὁ ἀνδροφόνος σίδηρος τὸ θυόμενον κατασφάττει, ὁ δὲ ἐπιβώμιος πέλεκυς καὶ τὸ θυόμενον καὶ τὸν θύοντα συναπόλλυσι.

17. Ibid., col. 616.

18. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 687, 688.

Διὰ παρθένου γούν ἀπέκτεινε πρῶην τὸν Ἀδάμ ὁ διάβολος, διὰ παρθένου μετὰ ταῦτα κατηγωνίσσατο τὸν διάβολον ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὅπερ ἦν ἡκονημένον αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ δράκοντος ἀπέτεμε κεφαλὴν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ γέγονε. Καθάπερ γὰρ τότε τοῦ Γολιάθ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ δίκαιος ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ

τῷ βαρβαρικῷ ξίφει δραμὼν ἀπέκοψεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν
 διὰ γυναικὸς ἐκράτησε, διὰ γυναικὸς ἥττηται. Τοῦτο
 ὄπλον ἦν αὐτῷ πρότερον, τοῦτο νῦν γέγονεν αὐτῷ
 σφαγῆς ὄργανον, τοῦτο σκεῦος ἀκαταγώνιστον. Ἡμαρτεν
 ἡ προτέρα καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέθανεν αὕτη, ἵνα μὴ ἁμάρτη
 ἐκείνη τότε ψυχρὰς ὑποσχέσεως ἐλπίδι φυσηθεῖσα τοὺς
 τοῦ θεοῦ νόμους κατεπάτησεν, αὕτη καὶ τῆς παρούσης
 κατεφρόνησε ζωῆς, ὥστε μὴ τὴν εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην
 ἐξομόσασθαι πίστιν. Τίς οὖν ἂν γένοιτο λοιπὸν
 ἀνδράσι μαλακιζομένοις ἀπολογία, τίς δὲ συγγνώμη, ὅταν
 γυναῖκες ἀνδρίζονται; ὅταν οὕτω γενναίως πρὸς τοὺς
 τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας ἀποδύονται; Οὔτε γὰρ φύσις,
 οὔτε ἡλικία, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐμποδίσαι δύναται ἂν,
 ὅταν προθυμία παρῇ, καὶ ζῆλος, καὶ πεπηρωμένη πίστις
 καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν ἐπισπασώμεθα,
 ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαρίας ταύτης γέγονε. Καὶ γὰρ
 ἀσθενὲς ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ εὐεπηρεάστος ἡ φύσις,
 καὶ ἀτελεστέρα ἡ ἡλικία, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων τὴν
 ἀσθένειαν ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ χάρις ἀπέκρυψεν, ἐπειδὴ
 προθυμίαν εὔρεν αὕτη γενναίαν, καὶ πίστιν ἀδιάκριτον,
 καὶ ψυχὴν πρὸς κινδύνους παρεσκευασμένην. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν,
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δυνατώτερον τοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς πολλῆς
 τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχοντος ἐρρίζωμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ,
 καὶ σίδηρος, καὶ θηρία, καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἕτερον ἀπειλῆται,
 πάντων ὑπερορᾷ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐκολίας, καθάπερ
 οὖν καὶ ἡ μακαρία αὕτη Δρόσις. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤψε τὴν
 πυρὰν ὃ τύραννος οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ βάραθρον αὐτὴν ἤγαγεν,
 οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ σύντομον τῆς
 τιμωρίας εὐκολώτερον αὐτῇ ποιήσῃ τὸν ἄθλον, ἀλλὰ
 τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῆς καταπλήξαι βουλόμενος, καὶ τὴν
 ἀδούλωτον ψυχὴν χειρώσασθαι τῇ τῆς πυρᾶς ὄψει,
 εἰς μέσον ταύτην ἐνέβαλεν ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὴν πυρὰν
 ἀνῆψε, καὶ ἡ κάμιнос ἀνεκαίετο, καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἤρετο
 μέγα, ταῦτα βλέπουσα ἡ μακαρία μάρτυς ἀνῆπτετο
 καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ ἀνέξει τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ πόθου, τῶν τριῶν ἀναμνησθεῖσα παιδων, καὶ
 λογισαμένη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν, ὅτι κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἄθλοις
 ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρεται στεφάνους
 αὐτοῖς. Καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μεμνηότες οὐδὲν τῶν
 ὀρωμένων βλέπουσιν ὡς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξίφος ἠκονημένον
 ἴδωσι, κυβιστῶσιν εὐκόλως, καὶ πυρὰν, καὶ βάραθρον,

κ' ἂν κρημνὸν, κ' ἂν πέλαγος, κ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἕτερον, ἀδεῶς
κατὰ πάντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀφιδῶσιν οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὕτη μανεῖσα
μανίαν οὐχὶ τοιαύτην, μὴ γένοιτο! ἀλλ' ἑτέραν
πάσης σωφροσύνης σεμνοτέραν, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
βαφεῖσα πόθῳ οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἑώρα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν μεταταξαμένη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκεῖ μεταθεῖσα
πάντων κατεγέλα τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐχὶ πῦρ,
ἀλλὰ δρόσον εἶναι ἐνόμιζε. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ τὴν πυρὰν
ἐκείνην, καὶ πηγὴν ὑδάτων καθαρωτάτην, καὶ βαφὴν
τινα θαυμασίαν, καὶ χωνευτήριον καλῶ. Καὶ γὰρ καθάπερ
ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ χρυσὸς, οὕτω καὶ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ἡ
ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς πυρᾶς ταύτης καθαρωτέρα ἐγίνετο.
Κατετήκοντο μὲν γὰρ σάρκες, καὶ ὅσα συνεφρύγετο,
καὶ κατεκαίετο νεῦρα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἰχώρ
πανταχόθεν κατέρρρει τῆς ψυχῆς δὲ ἡ πίστις στερρότερα
καὶ φαιδροτέρα ἐγίνετο.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., col. 689.

Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ ἱμάτιον ἀποδυσασμένη, καὶ τὸ
σῶμα φαιδρύνουσα, οὕτως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φλογὶ τὴν
σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἱματίου παντὸς εὐκολώτερον ἀποθεμένη
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν λαμπρύνουσα, πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον
ἠπείγετο δαδουχούντων ἀγγέλων αὐτήν. Εἰ γὰρ τὸν
Λάζαρον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἡκλωμένον ἄγγελοι πρὸς τοὺς
κόλπους ἀπήγαγον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ταύτην
δορυφοροῦντες ἀπήεσαν καθάπερ ἐκ τινος ἱερᾶς παστάδος
καὶ νυμφικοῦ θαλάμου τῆς καμίνου παραλαβόντες αὐτήν,
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνω νυμφῶνα ἀνάγοντες.

28. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 603.

Διὰ τί οὖν, φησί, πρόσκειται τῇ σαρκί; Ὅτι ἡ
σὰρξ ἐμαστίζετο, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκουφίζετο τῇ ἐλπίδι
τῶν μελλόντων ἐπαίρομένη οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥπτετο τῆς ψυχῆς,

οὐδὲ ὑπεσκέλιζε τοὺς ἑνδον λογισμοὺς, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τῆς σαρκὸς εἰστήκει τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, εἴσω διαβῆναι μὴ δυνάμενος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν αὕτη ἐτέμνετο, αὕτη ἐμαστιζέτο, αὕτη ἐδεσμεῖτο (ψυχὴν γὰρ δῆσαι ἀδύνατον ἦν).

29. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 669.

Καὶ γὰρ χρυσίον πλείονα χρόνον τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς δμιλοῦν φύσει, καθαρώτερον γίνεται καθάπερ τότε καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου ψυχὴ βασανιζομένη τῷ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον ἀπέλαμπε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ τρόπαιον καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, τὸν μάρτυρα περιέφερεν, ἔλεγχον τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμότητος, ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐσεβείας, μέγιστον τεκμήριον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, παραίνεσιν καὶ συμβουλὴν τοῖς πιστοῖς, ὥστε προθύμως τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἁγῶσι, κήρυκα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δόξης, διδάσκαλον τῆς τῶν τοιούτων παλαισμάτων ἐπιστήμης.

30. Ibid., col. 670.

Τοιαῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν ἁγίων τὰ κατορθώματα, ἀναφαίρετα καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστα, καθάπερ ἐν ἀσύλῳ τινὶ χωρίῳ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνδρείᾳ ἐναποκείμενα, καὶ οὔτε τυραννῶν αὐτὰ βλέπουσιν ὀφθαλμοί, οὔτε δημίων ἄρπάσαι δύνανται χεῖρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν διέλῳσι τὴν καρδίαν, ἢ μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀνδρείαν πεπίστευται, καὶ εἰς μικρὰ κατατέμῳσι μέρη, οὐδὲ οὕτω κενουοῖσι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείῳ τοῦτον ἐργάζονται.

31. Ibid., col. 670.

Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνοικῶν ψυχαῖς τὸν δὲ θεῷ πολεμοῦντα ἀμήχανον νικῆσαί ποτε, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καταγελασθέντα καὶ αἰσχρῶς ἡττηθέντα ἀπελθεῖν.

32. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 695.

Τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ κτήματα οὗ προδίδονται τοῖς τοῦ σώματος πάθεσιν, ὅταν αὐτὰ κατέχη μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τις ἀναρρήξῃ τὰ στέρνα, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τὴν καρδίαν διέλοι λαβών, οὗ προήσεται τὸν ἅπαξ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐμπιστευθέντα θησαυρόν. Τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτος γέγονε τῆς πάντα οἰκονομούσης, καὶ ἐν ἀσθενουοῖσι σώμασι δυναμένης παράδοξα ἐπιτελεῖν.

33. In Epist. I Ad. Cor. Homil. IV, PG 61, col. 35.
For English translation see also NPNF,
p. 19.
34. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia IV, PG 50, col. 496.
Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὕτω τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐτίμησεν ὁ θεός, ὡς
ἓνα ἄνθρωπον καταξιῶσαι τοσούτων γενέσθαι κατορ-
θωμάτων, αἴτιον, ζηλώσωμεν, μιμησώμεθα, σπουδάσωμεν
γενέσθαι κατ' ἐκείνον καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἀδύνατον
τοῦτο εἶναι νομίζωμεν. Ὁ γὰρ πολλάκις εἶπον, τοῦτο
λέγων οὐ παύσομαι, ὅτι καὶ σῶμα ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ
ἦν καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τροφαὶ αἱ αὐταί, καὶ ψυχὴ ἡ αὐτὴ
ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις μεγάλη, καὶ ἡ προθυμία λαμπρὰ καὶ
τοῦτο ἐκείνον τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε. Μηδεὶς τοίνυν
ἀπογιγνώσκέτω, μηδεὶς ἀπαγορευέτω. Ἐάν γὰρ παρα-
στήσης σου τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν τὸ κωλύον τὴν αὐτὴν
δέξασθαι χάριν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ προσωπολήπτης ὁ
θεός καὶ ἐκείνον αὐτὸς ἔπλασε, καὶ σὲ αὐτὸς παρηγάγε
καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκείνου Δεσπότης, οὕτω καὶ σὲ βούλεται
στεῖλαι. Ὑπόσχωμεν τοίνυν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ καθάρωμεν,
ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δαψιλῇ δεξάμενοι τὴν χάριν, τῶν αὐτῶν
ἐπιτύχωμεν ἀγαθῶν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ
Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
35. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia IV, PG 50,
col. 488.
Σὺ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα, μὴ ἀναγκαστὴν τὴν κλῆσιν εἶναι
νόμιζε οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναγκάζει ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἀφήσιν κυρίου
εἶναι προαιρέσεων καὶ μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν.
36. Ibid., col. 488.
Καὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἀπεκάλυπεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὅτε ἐρχῆν,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δέξασθαι διὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
37. Ibid., col. 488.
Πίστευε τοίνυν καὶ γὰρ καὶ σὲ καλεῖ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἐάν
ψυχὴν εὐγνώμονα ἔχῃς ὡς, ἐάν ἀγνώμων ᾖ καὶ
διεστραμμένος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐνεχθῆναι σοὶ φωνὴν ἀνωθεν
ἀρκεσεῖ εἰς σωτηρίαν.
- 37a. Ibid., col. 489.
οὗτοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐγείροντα θεασάμενοι, καὶ ἔδησαν
καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν.

38. Ibid., col. 489.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καινῇ, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς παρουσίας,
ὁ μὲν ληστής σταυρούμενον ἰδὼν, προσεκύνησεν.

38a. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, PG 50,
col. 505.

39. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, PG 50,
col. 505.

οὐκ εἶδες ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, εἶπε μοι, προαίρεσιν
φύσεως κρατήσασαν, ἥνίκα τὸν παῖδα σφαγιάσαι
ἐκελεύσθη, καὶ ταύτην ἐκείνης δυνατωτέραν φανείσαν;
οὐκ εἶδες ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
συμβάν; οὐκ ἀκούεις καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν παροιμίας
λεγουσῆς, ὅτι δευτέρα φύσις ἢ προαίρεσις γίνεται ἐκ
συνηθείας; Ἐγὼ δὲ φαίην ἂν, ὅτι καὶ προτέρα, καθὼς
τὰ προειρημένα ἀπέδειξεν.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., col. 505.

ὅταν λέγῃ πάλιν, "Τῷ κόσμῳ ἑσταύρωμαι" (Γαλ. 6:14),
τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ στεφάνῳ. Ἐνὶ γὰρ ἑνὶ φύσεως
ἰσχὺν προαιρέσεως ἀκριβείᾳ μιμήσασθαι.

42. Ibid., col. 505.

Ὅρῳς ὅτι δυνατόν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἔχειν
στερρότητα, εἴαν προαίρεσις ἢ γενναία καὶ διεγρηγερμένη,
καὶ πλείονα καρποῦσθαι τὸν ἔπαινον τὸν γε ἐλόμενον καὶ
βουληθέντα, ἢ ἀναγκασθέντα καλὸν εἶναι;

43. Ibid., col. 505.

Κἂν εἰς μέσον ἀγάγωμεν τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνδριάντα
τῆς ἀρετῆς, εὐρήσομεν ὅτι τὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτῷ
προσόντα καλὰ, εἰς φύσεως στερρότητα ἐφιλονείκησεν
ἐξενεγκεῖν. Ἥλγει μὲν γὰρ τυπτόμενος τῶν δὲ
ἁσωμάτων δυνάμεων τῶν οὐκ ἄλγους ὡς οὐχ ἥττον αὐτῶν
κατεφρόνει.

44. Ibid., col. 505.

Ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ "Ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἑσταύρωται, καὶ τῷ
κόσμῳ" (ἔ. ἀ.), καὶ πάλιν "Ζῷ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ,
ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἔμοι Χριστός" (Γαλ. 2:20), τί ἄλλο
ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ἢ ὅτι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ μετέστη τοῦ σώματος;
τί δέ, ὅταν λέγῃ, "Ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος
σατᾶν"; (Β' Κορ. 12: 7) τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐστίν,

ἢ δεῖξαι μέχρι τοῦ σώματος ἱστάμενον τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἔνδον οὐ διέβαινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτὸν διεκρούετο καὶ ἐξώθει.

45. Ibid., col. 504.

Καὶ γὰρ δεικνύεις ἐντεῦθεν ἡλικὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ὥς ἐν τοιαύτῃ φύσει τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἰσχύσαι.

46. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia V, PG 50, col. 497.

Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐχὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος μόνον τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας προθυμίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προθυμίας. Μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς γὰρ ἑκάτερα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπνευσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας προαιρέσεως ὑπῆρξε.

47. Ibid., col. 497.

Τοῦτο γὰρ γίνεται κώλυμα μόνον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, κακία ψυχῆς, καὶ μαλακία γνώμης ταύτης δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν.

48. De S. Babyla Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 542.

τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ταπεινόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν, καὶ τὴν συντετριμμένην ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ θράσους ἀπηλλαγμένον φρόνημα, καὶ οὕτως ἀμφοτέρους διαγράψας καὶ ἀντιθεῖς, τότε γνώσῃ τὸ θαῦμα καλῶς μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐπιλήψῃ τῆς ἀκριβείας αὐτῆς τὴν γὰρ παρρησίαν ἐκείνην λόγος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ὄψις παραστήσαι δύναιτ' ἄν, ἡ πείρα δὲ μόνη καὶ ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῆς. Καὶ τὸ παράστημα δὲ τῆς τοῦ γενναίου ψυχῆς μόνος ἐκεῖνος δύναιτ' ἄν εἶδεναι καλῶς, ὁ δυνηθεὶς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τῆς παρρησίας φθάσαι κορυφὴν. Πῶς γὰρ προσῆλθεν ὁ γέρων πῶς τοὺς δορυφόρους διεκόψε; πῶς τὸ στόμα διῆρε; πῶς ἐφθέγγετο; πῶς ἐπετίμησε; πῶς τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸ στῆθος ἀπῆρεισε τὸ φλεγμαῖνον ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ξέον τῷ φόνῳ; πῶς ἀπόσαστο τὸν ἀνδροφόνον; Οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δρωμένων κατέπληξε, καὶ τῆς προθέσεως ἐξεκρούσεν. Ὡς ψυχῆς ἀκαταπλήκτου καὶ διανοίας ὑψηλῆς! ὦ φρένων οὐρανίων καὶ παραστήματος ἀγγελικοῦ! Ὡς περ γὰρ ἐν τοίχῳ γεγραμμένην ἅπασαν τὴν φαντασίαν ἐκείνην ὁρῶν, οὕτως ἀταράχως ἅπαντα ἐπραττεν ὁ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ. Καὶ γὰρ

ἦν πεπαιδευμένος ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων, ὅτι σκιά καὶ ὄναρ καὶ τούτων οὐδαμινώτερα ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τούτων καταπτήξαι ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρουνεν.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., col. 542.

Ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἐκείνη τῶν ὀρωμένων τὴν διάνοιαν παρέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ βλέποντα ἄβύσσους, ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἐνδοξον καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐπὶ τὴν στρατίαν τὴν οὐράνιον, ἐπὶ τὰς μυριάδας τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ τὰς χιλιάδας τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ φοβερόν, ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον τὸ ἀδέκαστον, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ πυρὸς ποταμόν, ἐπὶ τὸν κριτὴν αὐτόν.

56. Ibid., col. 543.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησε τῷ γὰρ ἅλατι τῷ πνευματικῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρτυμένος ἦν δι' ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην, ἀλλὰ πάντα κρίσει λογισμῶν ὀρθῇ.

57. Ibid., col. 543.

58. Ibid., col. 543.

καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πολλάκις ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ εἰς δεόν καὶ καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης συμμετρίας καὶ συνέσεως τῷ πράγματι χρῆσασθαι, μεγάλης λίαν καὶ θαυμαστῆς δεῖται ψυχῆς.

59. De Gloria In Tribulationibus, PG 51, col. 162-163.

"Romans 5:3"
Κηροῦ μαλακώτερον ἔχουσα σῶμα εἴτα τῷ ξύλῳ προσηλωθεῖσα πάντοθεν, διωρύττετο τὰς πλευρὰς καταξεομένη, καὶ κατερρεῖτο τῷ αἵματι, καὶ καθάπερ νυμφευομένη μᾶλλον καὶ ἐν παστάδι καθημένη, οὕτω μετ' εὐνοίας ἔφερε τὰ γινόμενα διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγῶσι στεφανουμένη.

60. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem , PG 50, col. 680.

Καὶ ταυτὸ συνέβαινεν ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ βάτος ἐκαίετο, καὶ οὐ κατεκαίετο, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκαίετο μὲν ἡ δεξιὰ, οὐ κατεφλέγετο δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐδαπανᾶτο τὸ σῶμα, καὶ οὐκ ἀνηλοῦτο ἡ πίστις ἀπηγόρευεν ἡ σὰρξ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγόρευεν ἡ προθυμία καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρακες τὸ μέσον τῆς χειρὸς διατρήσαντες ἐξέπιπτον κάτω, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ διέπιπτεν ἀλλ' ἡμὴν χεὶρ ἀνήλωτο καὶ ἐρρύη σὰρξ γὰρ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἀδάμας ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἑτέραν ἐπεζήτει χεῖρα πάλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὴν καρτερίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., col. 680.

Καὶ καθάπερ στρατιώτης γενναῖος εἰς πολεμίους εἰσελθὼν, καὶ κατακόψας τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἀνταγωνιζομένων αὐτῷ, διακλάσας τὸ ξίφος τῇ πυκνότητι τῶν ἐπαλλήλων πληγῶν, εἴτα ἐπιστραφεὶς ἕτερον ἐπιζητεῖ, διὰ τὸ μηδέπω κόρον εἰληφέναι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων σφαγῆς οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Βαρλαάμ τὴν χεῖρα ἀναλώσασα ἐν τῷ κατακόπτειν τὰς φάλαγγας τῶν δαιμόνων, ἑτέραν ἐπεζήτει δεξιάν πάλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι. Μὴ γὰρ μοι τοῦτο εἴπῃς, ὅτι μίαν ἐξέδωκε χεῖρα μόνον ἀλλὰ τοῦτο πρὸ ἐκείνου ἐννόει, ὅτι ὁ τὴν χεῖρα προδοὺς, οὗτος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξέδωκεν ἄν, καὶ τὰς πλευράς προῦθηκε, καὶ πυρί, καὶ θηρίοις, καὶ πελάγει, καὶ κρημνῷ, καὶ σταυρῷ, καὶ τροχῷ, καὶ πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀκουσθείσας ποτὲ τιμωρίας παρετάξατο, καὶ πάντα ἔπαθεν εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ πείρᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ προθέσει. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὠρισμένας κολάσεις ἀπαντῶσιν οἱ μάρτυρες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀορίστους ἀποδύονται τιμωρίας οὐ γὰρ εἰσι κύριοι τῆς γνώμης τῶν τυράννων, οὐδὲ ὅρους αὐτοῖς καὶ μέτρα τιμωριῶν τιθέασιν ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀπάνθρωπος καὶ θηριώδης ἐκείνων γνώμη διαθεῖναι ἐπιθυμήσῃ κακὰ, τοσαῦτα εἰσέρχονται πεισόμενοι πλὴν ἂν μὴ μεταξύ τὸ σῶμα ἀπαγορευῶσαν ἀπλήρωτον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καταλίπῃ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐπιθυμίαν. Ἐμαραίνεται

τοῖνυν ἡ σὰρξ, καὶ ἡ προαίρεσις προθυμοτέρα ἐγίνετο, αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄνθρακας παρερχομένη τῇ λαμπρότητι, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀποστίλβουσα πνευματικὸν γὰρ ἔνδον ἀνεκαίετο πῦρ πολὺ τοῦ πυρὸς τούτου φλογωδέστερον. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἔξωθεν οὐκ ἠσθάνετο φλογὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔνδον αὐτὸν ἔκαιε πῦρ τὸ διάπυρον καὶ διακαὲς τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

64a. Ibid. col. 679.

εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐνδιδόντος περιετράπη ἡ χεὶρ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔγλημα τοῦτο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐ γὰρ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀσθενούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν νεύρων φύσεως κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τόνον, καὶ ἄκοντος τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καμπτομένης, ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦτο συνέβαινε.

64b. Ibid., col. 679.

οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνων βλακειᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ νοσήματος τὴν νοτίδα ἀναλίσκουσης καὶ συνελκούσης παρὰ φύσιν λοιπὸν τῶν νεύρων τὴν ἀκολουθίαν οὕτως οὐδὲ ἅγιον τοῦτον ἂν τις ἐμέμψατο τῆς χειρὸς περιτραπείας. Εἰ γὰρ πυρετὸς καὶ ἄκοντος τοῦ κάμνοντος συνέλκειν τὰ μέλη πέφυκε καὶ διαστέφειν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἄνθρακες ἐπικείμενοι δεξιᾷ, καὶ μὴ ἐνδόντος τοῦ μάρτυρος τοῦτο ἂν εἰργάσαντο.

64c. Ibid., col. 679.

Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ εἰργάσαντο, ἵνα ἐκ περιουσίας μάθης, ὅτι θεοῦ χάρις ἦν ἡ συμπαροῦσα καὶ ἀλείφουσα τὸν ἀθλητὴν, καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωμα διορθούμενη, οὔτε αὐτὴ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἔπαθε κατὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐξ ἀδάμαντος πεπηγυῖα ἡ χεὶρ ἐκείνη, οὕτως ἀπερίτρεπτος ἔμενε. Τίς τότε ὁρῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐθαύμασε; τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔφριξε; Διέκυπτον ἄνωθεν ἄγγελοι, ἐθεώρουν ἀρχάγγελοι λαμπρὸν ἦν τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ὑπερβαῖνον ὄντως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν.

65. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia I, PG 50, col. 579, 580.

Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἥδη προαναλωθείσης τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν βασάνων, οὐδὲ φοβερὸς ἔτι φαίνεται ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαγὴ τις καὶ ἄνεσις τῶν ἐπικειμένων δεινῶν ἡ δὲ μηδὲν μηδέπω παθοῦσα τοιοῦτον,

ἀλλὰ ἀκέραιον ἔτι τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσα, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς
 οἰσθόμενῃ μηδέπω, μεγάλου τινὸς καὶ γενναίου
 φρονήματος δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι βιαίῳ θανάτῳ τῆς
 παρούσης ἑαυτὴν ἐξάγειν ζωῆς. Ὡστε ὅταν θαυμάζης
 ἐκείνους τῆς καρτερίας, θαύμασον ταύτην τῆς ἀνδρείας
 ὅταν ἐκπλαγῆς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς, ἐκπλάγηθι
 καὶ ταύτην ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενναίου φρονήματος, ὅτι
 κατετόλμησε τελευτῆς τοιαύτης.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., col. 580.

Οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἀνθρώπινης φύσεως τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεον
 εἰσήνεγκεν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὕτη τότε
 ἄργοῦσα εἰστήκει, ἀλλὰ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς πάντα
 ἐπεδείκνυτο, τὴν προθυμίαν, τὸ φρόνημα, τὸ γενναῖον,
 τὸ βουλευθῆναι, τὸ προελέσθαι, τὸ σπεῦσαι, τὸ
 ἐπειχθῆναι.

67a. Ibid., col. 580.

68. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 587.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κακεῖθεν πολλοὶ οἱ ἀνακηρυττόμενοι
 καὶ στεφανούμενοι, ἵνα μάθης διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν
 ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἄρσεν, οὐ θῆλυ, ὅτι οὔτε
 φύσις, οὔτε σώματος ἀσθένεια, οὔτε ἡλικία, οὔτε ἄλλο
 οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐμποδίσαι δύναίτ' ἂν τοῖς τὸν
 τῆς εὐσεβείας τρέχουσι δρόμον, εἴαν προθυμία γενναία,
 καὶ φρόνημα διεγερμένον, καὶ φόβος θεοῦ θερμὸς
 καὶ διάπυρος ἐρριζωμένος ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ᾗ.
 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κόραι, καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ
 νέοι, καὶ γέροντες, καὶ δοῦλοι, καὶ ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ
 πᾶσα ἀξία, καὶ ἡλικία ἅπασα, καὶ φύσις ἑκάτερα
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπεδύσαντο τούτους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν
 οὐδὲν παρεβλάβησαν, ἐπεὶ προαίρεσιν γενναίαν εἰσήνεγκαν
 εἰς τὰ παλαίσματα ταῦτα.

69. De Maccabaeis Homilia I, PG 50, col. 619.

Οὐ σφριγῶσι κατὰ τὴν σάρκα οἱ ἀθληταί, ἀλλὰ
 σφριγῶσι κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀσθενῆς αὐτῶν ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ
 δυνατὴ ἢ ἀλείψασα αὐτοὺς χάρις παραλέληται τὰ σώματα
 τῷ γήρῳ, ἀλλὰ συγκεκρότηται τὰ φρονήματα τῷ πόθῳ
 τῆς εὐσεβείας. Οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσθητὸς ὁ ἀγὼν μὴ τοίνυν
 ἔξωθεν καταμάθῃς τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ἀλλ' εἰσελθε τῷ λογισμῷ

πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν εὐεξίαν κατάρμαθε τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχύν, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ὁ δαίμοσι πυκτεύων οὐ σώματος ἰσχυρᾶς δεῖται περιβολῆς, οὐδὲ ἡλικίας ἀκμαζούσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κομιδῇ νέος ᾗ, καὶ εἰς ἔσχατον γῆρας ἐληλακῶς, ψυχὴν δὲ ἔχῃ γενναίαν καὶ ἐρρωμένην, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εἰς τὰ ἀγωνίσματα παραβλάπτεται.

70. Ibid.

71. Expositio In Psalmum CXXVII, PG 55, col. 368.

Οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν, ὀδυνωμένην χαλινῶσαι ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν. Τοῦτο μαρτυρίου ἴσον, τοῦτο κολοφῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., col. 369.

Φέρε τοίνυν τὰ συμπίπτοντα πάντα γενναίως τοῦτο γὰρ σοι μαρτύριόν ἐστίν.

74. Ibid., col. 369.

Οὐ γὰρ τὸν κελευόμενον θῦσαι, τὸ μὴ θῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καταξανθῆναι μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ποιεῖ μαρτύριον μόνον.

75. Ibid., col. 369.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀδύνης εἰς βλαφημίαν ἐξαγούσης, ἐλέσθαι ἐγκαρτερῆσαι τῷ πόνῳ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπηχῆς εἰπεῖν, μάρτυρα ἐργάζεται.

76. IV Homilia, Adversus Eos Qui Non Adfuerant, Etc., PG 63, col. 481.

Εἶπω καὶ ἑτέραν ὑπερβολὴν μάλιστα στεφανοῦσαν καὶ ἀνακηρύττουσαν τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὑψηλὴν καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀπτομένην ψυχὴν; Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν αὕτη; Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διαφορά πρὸ γὰρ τῆς χάριτος καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου γεγόμενος, τοιαῦτα ἐφιλοσόφησεν. Οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους δυνάμενον πλέξαι στεφάνους. Τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν κατορθωμάτων οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ κεῖνται μισθοὶ, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις χρόνοις ταῦτα κατωρθῶκῃς ᾗ, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχατοῖς, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μείζους τῷ προτέρῳ. Οὐ γὰρ ᾗ ἴσον, παραγενομένου τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπιδειξαμένου καὶ παραινέσαντος καὶ συμβουλευσαντος φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας

αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ νόμου καὶ πρὸ προφητῶν τοιαῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ παραγεγνημένος πλείονα ἀρετῆς προσθήκην ἐπιζητεῖ, λέγων, Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν πλεῖον τῶν Γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., col. 482.

...ὅτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἀκρότατον ἡ ὑπομονή, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ. Ταῦτα γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος εἰδὼς, ἔλεγε, "Δέρμα ὑπὲρ δέρματος, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ὑπάρχει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δώσει ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλον τὴν χεῖρά σου, καὶ ἅψαι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι πάντων ἀκρότατον τοῦτο τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ νεανικῆς τινος καὶ σιδηρᾶς δεόμενον ψυχῆς.

79. Ibid., col. 482.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μικρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα φιλοσοφωτάτης δεόμενον ψυχῆς.

80. Ibid., col. 483.

Εἶδες τὴν ἀγρυπνον ψυχὴν; ὅρα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ συνέτριψα μύλας ἀδίκων.

81. Ibid., col. 483.

Εἶδες συντετριμμένην διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεπτομένην μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ εἰδυῖαν τί δοῦλος, τί ἐλεύθερος, τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν περιφερόμενον;

82. Ibid., col. 484.

Πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἡ στεφανουμένη. Καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνέβη, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀκριβείας κατάρθου.

83. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 668.

84. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 707.

85. Ibid., col. 708.

86. Ibid., col. 710.

87. De Anna Sermo V, PG 54, col. 672.

88. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 708.

89. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 696,697.

90. In Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 594.

Τοιούτοι γὰρ οἱ ἔρῳντες ὅπερ ἂν πάσχωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔρωμένων, μεθ' ἡδονῆς δέχονται, καὶ τότε δοκοῦσιν ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὅταν πολλῶ χαλεπώτερα ἢ τὰ γινόμενα ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου συνέβαινε. Οὐ γὰρ τῷ θανάτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ζηλώσαι τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔσπευδε καὶ ἀκούων ὅτι μαστιχθέντες ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεχώρουν, ἐβουλήθη καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ τῇ τελευτῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χαρᾷ μιμῆσασθαι τοὺς διδασκάλους διὰ τοῦτο, "τῶν θηρίων", ἔλεγεν, "ὄναιμην".

91. In S. Romanum Martyrem I, PG 50, col. 607.

92. Ibid., col. 607.

93. Ibid., col. 608.

94. De Anna Sermo V, PG 54, col. 672.

95. I Homilia Quod. Frequenter Conveniendum Sit, PG 63, col. 461.

96. Adversus Judaeos VI, PG 48, col. 904-905.

Chrysostom said, "The Jews, on the one hand said, "His blood be on us and on our children" (MT 27: 25), while the martyrs spilled their blood for Christ, whom the Jews murdered".

Ἰουδαίους γὰρ μάλιστα μισοῦσιν οἱ μάρτυρες, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνων σταυροθέντα σφόδρα ἐφίλησαν. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγον, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐξέχεαν διὰ τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀναιρεθέντα.

97. Adversus Judaeos VI, PG 48, col. 904-905.

Κατεγέλασαν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς, κατεπάτησαν βασανιστήρια καὶ καλᾶσεις, ὑπερεῖδον θανάτου, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπτερώθησαν, ἀπηλλάγησαν τῆς ζάλης τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, εἰς τὸν εὐδίων κατέπλευσαν λιμένα, οὐ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ, ἀλλὰ θησαυροὺς ἀσύλους ἐπιφερόμενοι, ὑπομονὴν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀγάπην. Εἰς τὸν Παύλου τελοῦσι χορὸν νῦν, πρὸ τῶν στεφάνων αὐτῶν περούμενοι τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν στεφάνων, καὶ τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλον λοιπὸν διαφυγόντες.

98. Ad Theodorum Lapsum I, PG 47, col. 284-285.
See also NPNF, pp. 95,96.
ὁρῶμέν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας, οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν,
ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ μόνον,
τοὺς λαμπροὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους στεφάνους.
99. Ibid.
100. Ad Theodorum Lapsum II, PG, 47, col. 309-311.
See also NPNF, pp. 111-112.
101. Ibid.
Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησαμένων, διὰ τὴν
τῶν βασάνων ἀνάγκην ἀνεμαχέσαντο πάλιν, καὶ τὸν
τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀπῆλθον ἀναδησάμενοι.
102. Ibid.
Ὀλισθηρὸν γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, καὶ ὁξὺ μὲν
κλαπῆναι, ὁξὺ δὲ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης, καὶ
ὥσπερ πίπτει ταχέως, οὕτω καὶ θάττον ἀνίσταται.
103. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homilia VI, PG 50,
col. 503,504.
Δυνατὸν γὰρ, εἰ βουληθείμεν μόνον, πᾶσαν φύσεως
ἀγωνίαν τῇ τῆς προθυμίας νικῆσαι δυνάμει καὶ οὐδὲν
ἔστιν ὅπερ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις, τῶν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ
κελευσθέντων ἂν γὰρ ὅσῃν ἔχομεν προθυμίαν, ταύτην
ἐπιδῶμεν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς πολλὴν ἡμῖν συνεισάγει ῥοπὴν,
καὶ οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιούσι δεινοῖς ἀνάλωτοι γενησόμεθα.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι πληγὰς καταγνώσεως ἄξιον,
ἀλλὰ τὸ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν πληγῶν ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς
εὐσεβείας ὑπομεῖναι, ὥστε τὸ δεδοικέναι πληγὰς τὸν
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἄληπτον θαυμαστότερον δείκνυσι τοῦ μὴ
φοβουμένου. Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἡ προαίρεσις οὕτω διαλάμπει
τὸ μὲν γὰρ φοβηθῆναι πληγὰς, τῆς φύσεως τὸ δὲ
μηδὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν πληγῶν ἀπρεπὲς ὑπομεῖναι,
τῆς προαιρέσεως διορθουμένης τὸ τῆς φύσεως
ἐλάττωμα, καὶ κρατούσης τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐκείνης ἐπεὶ
οὐδὲ τὸ λυπεῖσθε ἔγκλημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ διὰ τὴν λύπην
εἰπεῖν τι ἢ πρᾶξαι τῶν τῷ θεῷ μὴ δοκούντων. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος Παῦλος, καλῶς μοι τὰ
τῆς φύσεως ἐλαττώματα εἰς μέσον ἦγες, ὡς μέλλων ταύτη
τὸν λόγον ἐλέγχειν εἰ δὲ λέγω καὶ διαβεβαιουῖμαι ὅτι
ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἦν, καὶ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἀμείνων κατὰ τὴν
φύσιν, βελτίων δὲ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν, εἰκῇ

μοι ταῦτα προφέρεις, μάλλον δὲ οὐκ εἰκῇ, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Παύλου. Καὶ γὰρ δεικνύεις ἐντεῦθεν ἡλικὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ὡς ἐν τοιαύτῃ φύσει τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἰσχύσαι. Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόνον ἐπαίρεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπορράπτεις τῶν ἀναπεπτωκότων τὰ στόματα, οὐκ ἀφίεις αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῆς φύσεως ὑπεροχὴν καταφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥθων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως σπουδὴν.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

5. Christ's or God's role

1. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 592.

Cf. also De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 638.

Εἰσῆλθε μήτηρ μετὰ δύο θυγατέρων ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ μητέρες καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ αἱ μὲν οὕτω πειθέσθωσαν μητράσιν, αἱ δὲ οὕτω παιδεύετωσαν θυγατέρας, οὕτω φιλείτωσαν τὰ παῖδιά, εἰσῆλθε τοίνυν μέση ἢ μήτηρ, ἑκατέρωθεν κατέχουσα τὰς θυγατέρας, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχουσα μέσον τῶν ἀπειρογάμων, καὶ ἦν τῆς παρθενίας μέσος ὁ χάμος, καὶ μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Χριστός.

2. Ibid., col. 593.

Μεγίστη γὰρ ὄντως ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις τὸ τὸν σφαγέντα Χριστὸν τοσαύτην μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιδείξασθαι δύναμιν, ὡς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους πεῖσαι καὶ πατρίδος, καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ φίλων, καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ αὐτῆς ὑπεριδεῖν τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίας, καὶ μαστιγῆς, καὶ κινδύνους, καὶ θάνατον ἀντὶ τῶν παρόντων ἡδέων ἐλέσθαι. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχὶ νεκροῦ τινος, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ μέιναντος, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντος καὶ ζῶντος ἦν τὰ κατορθώματα.

3. Ibid., col. 592.
 ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποι, τὰς αὐτοῦ κυβερνῶσιν Ἐκκλησίας,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πανταχοῦ ποιμαίνων τοὺς
 πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν.
4. Ibid. col. 592.
 Cf. also Ibid., col. 594: "God is he who grants the
 contest (τὸν ἀγῶνοθέτην)."
5. Ibid., col. 592.
 ἵν' ὅταν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἐκείνων ἴδῃ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας
 οὐκ ἐλαττούμενα, οὐδὲ σβεννύμενον τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος
 λόγον ἀλλ' αὐξόμενον μᾶλλον, μάθῃ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν
 καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ οἱ ταῦτα αὐτῷ διακονούμενοι πάντες,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπινα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν ἔχει τὴν ρίζαν ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς διδασκαλίας
 ὑπόθεσις καὶ θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πανταχοῦ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἄγων.
6. Ibid., col. 592.
7. Ibid., col. 593.
 Ἰν' οὖν ταῦτα ἔργῳ μάθωσιν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦντες
 ἅπαντες, συνεχώρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖ τελειωθῆναι τὸν
 ἅγιον. Καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 τρόπου τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦτο πιστώσομαι.
8. Ibid., col. 594.
 ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ, τῆς πόλεως ἄνω καθεζομένης
 ἀπάσης, τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τρόπον ὑπέμεινε, θηρίων
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων ἵν' ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀπάντων ὀψέσι τὸ
 τρόπαιον στήσας κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, τοὺς θεατὰς ἅπαντας
 ζηλωτὰς ποιήσῃ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκων
 μόνον οὕτω γενναίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀποθνήσκων.
9. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 530.
10. De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50,
 col. 542.
11. Ibid., col. 566.
 Εἰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς δεξοίτο τὴν φλόγα, παντὸς κήρυκος
 σαφέστερον οὐ τοῖς τότε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 μετέπειτα πᾶσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὀργήν, ὥς
 καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ συγκαλύπτειν
 τὸ γεγονός πᾶσαν ἀνηρῆσθαι πρόφασιν.
12. Ibid., col. 533.

13. Ibid., col. 533.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ ἕτεροι διδάσκαλοί τε ἐγένοντο, καὶ μαθητὰς ἔσχον καὶ θαύματα ἐπεδείξαντο, καθὼς Ἑλλήνων παῖδες κομπάζουσι, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἐκείνων τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο, οὔτε εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. Οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοιεν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, κὰν πάντα ἀναισχυντοῖεν, ἐπιδείξαι πρόρρησιν ἢ λόγον τοιοῦτον κείμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φάσματα μὲν τῶν κατοικομένων καὶ νεκρῶν τινων εἶδωλα δεῖξαι πολλοὶ πολλοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς θαυματοποιούς φασι, καὶ φωνὰς δέ τινας ἀπὸ μνημείων τισὶν ἐνεχθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι δέ τις τῶν ζησάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θαυμασθέντων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἢ οὓς μετὰ τελευτῇ ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεοὺς, εἶπέ τι τοιοῦτον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίσαιτο ποτε.

14. In S. Romanum II, PG 50, col. 618.

καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν θαυματοποιὸν Χριστὸν προσκυνήσωμεν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

15. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia I, PG 50, col. 580.16. Ibid., col. 580.

Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔνδον μόνη, ἀλλ' εἶχε σύμβουλον Ἰησοῦν.

17. Ibid., col. 580.

ἐκεῖνος αὐτῇ παρῆν, ἐκεῖνος τῆς καρδίας αὐτῆς ἥπτετο, ἐκεῖνος τὴν ψυχὴν παρεθάρρυνεν, ἐκεῖνος μόνος τὸν φόβον ἐξέβαλε.

18. Ibid., col. 580.

ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὴν ἀξίαν παρεσκεύασε. τῆς ἐκείνου βοηθείας ἢ μάρτυς.

19. Ibid.

St. Pelagia committed suicide by leaping off a cliff in order to preserve her chastity, which was endangered by a band of Roman soldiers sent to arrest her for being a Christian.

20. Ibid., col. 581.

Ὁ θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἐτύφλωσεν, ὥστε μὴ συνιδεῖν τὸν δόλον.

Cf. also Ibid., col. 582.

καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι οὐκ ἄθεεὶ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, μάλιστα
μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραστήματος τῆς προθυμίας
δῆλον καὶ τοῦ μὴ συνδεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν δόλον,
καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τέλος τὸ
ἔργον ἐλθεῖν.

21. Ibid., col. 581.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κατορθώματα, τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ
δούλους ἐξ ἀπόρων πραγμάτων εἰς πολλὴν ἄγειν εὐκολίαν
τοὺς δὲ ἐναντίους αὐτῷ καὶ πολεμίους κἂν ἐκ τῶν
εὐμηχάνων εἶναι δοκούντων εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμβάλλειν
ἀμηχανίαν.

22. Ibid., col. 581.

πόσῃ μὲν αἰσχύνην, πόσῃ δὲ ὀδύνην καὶ ὄνειδος τῶν
ἄπίστων κατασκεδασθῆναι εἰκὸς πάντων ἦν; πῶς
ἀναχωρεῖν κάτω κύπτοντας ἐγκαλυπτομένους, διὰ τῶν
ἔργων μανθάνοντας, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἦν;

23. Ibid., col. 582.

οὐκ ἔλαττον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
τρόπου τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦτο ἔστι συνιδεῖν. Πολλοὶ
γούν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ κατενεχθέντες στέγους, οὐδὲν ἔπαθον
δεινόν καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ πάλιν μέλη τινὰ τοῦ σώματος
πληρωθέντες, πολὺν μετὰ τὸ πτώμα ἐπέζησαν χρόνον,
ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀφῆκεν
ὁ θεὸς συμβῆναι, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεῖναι τὸ
σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥς ἀρκοῦντως ἀγωνισαμένην δεξάμενος,
καὶ τὸ πᾶν πληρώσαν. Οὐ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ
πτώματος ὁ θάνατος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγῆς.

24. Ibid., col. 582.

25. Ibid., col. 582.

Εἰ γὰρ δεσπόται τοὺς ἐπεικεστέρους τῶν οἰκετῶν
τελευτῶντας προπέμπουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται,
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν δι' αὐτὸν ἀφείσαν τὴν
ψυχὴν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀναδεξαμένην κίνδυνον οὐκ ἂν
ἐπηρεχύνθη τιμῆσαι τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ.

26. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 573.

καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίει πάντα, τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον
ἀμαυρῶσαι βουλόμενος ἵνα ὁ μὲν φόνος αὐτῷ προχωρῇ,

καὶ σφαγαὶ γίνονται, μὴ φαίνεται δὲ λαμπρά τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων βραβεῖα. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλεῖον ἐγίγνετο. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου ψήφου, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κακουργίας πάντως οἱ ταῦτα παθόντες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδεκάστου κρίσεως τῆς ἄνωθεν λέγω, τὸν στέφανον δέχεσθαι μέλλουσι.

27. Ibid., col. 576.

Cf. also Ibid., col. 576.

Chrysostom refers to the example of Joseph and his mistress in Gen. 39:11. Joseph's mistress thought that she could enter in Joseph's tent inconspicuously. However, she could not escape the sleepless eye of God. (Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ Αἴγυπτία τότε γυνὴ (Γεν. 39:11) τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐπιλαβομένη ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ ἐρημία πολλῇ προσεδόκησε λήσεσθαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

28. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 678, 679.

Ἀλλ' ὅρα πῶς ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν ἄκυρα ἐποίησεν αὐτοῦ τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιτεταμένον καὶ τὸ τῆς κακουργίας ποικίλον προσθήκην καὶ πλεονασμὸν πλείονος δόξης παρεσκεύασε γενέσθαι τῷ μάρτυρι. Ὅταν γὰρ μυρία κακουργήσας ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής, εἴτα ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέλθῃ, τότε λαμπρότερος γίνεται τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁ ἀθλητής.

29. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 667.

30. Ibid., col. 667.

Εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἐσφάγησαν, συντρέχομεν, ὁ Χριστὸς, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέθεντο, τί οὐ ποιήσει; εἰ οἷς μηδὲν ὥφειλε, τοσαῦτα ἔδωκεν ἀγαθὰ, τούτους, οἷς ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶ, πόσαις οὐκ ἀμείψεται δωρεαῖς; Οὐδὲν ὥφειλε πρὸ τούτου τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. "Πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον", φησὶ Παῦλος, "καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ". (Rom. 3:23).

31. Ibid., col. 667.

μᾶλλον δὲ ὥφειλε κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὅμως κόλασιν ἡμῖν ὀφείλων καὶ τιμωρίαν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχαρίσατο. Εἰ τοίνυν οἷς κόλασιν ὥφειλε, τούτοις βασιλείαν ἔδωκεν οἷς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὀφείλει, τί οὐ δώσει; καὶ πόσαις αὐτοὺς οὐ τιμήσει τιμαῖς; εἰ ὑπὲρ τῶν μισούντων αὐτὸν ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεεν, ὑπὲρ, τῶν τὸ αἷμα ἐκχεάντων διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαν, τί οὐκ ἐργάσεται;

32. Ibid., col. 667.
εἰ τοὺς ἀποστρεφόμενους καὶ ἀποπηδῶντας οὕτως ἠγάπησεν,
ὥς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας αὐτὸν
μέτρῳ μεγίστῳ.
33. Ibid., col. 667.
Μεῖζονα γὰρ ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ (Ἰωαν. 15:13).
34. Ibid., col. 667.
ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἠγωνίσαντο πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Πατὴρ
ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος δώσει μυρία ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
πεπονηκόσι; καὶ γὰρ μεγαλόδωρός ἐστι καὶ φιλόανθρωπος,
ἀλλ' οὐ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μένουσιν αὐτοὺς μεγάλαι αἰ
τιμαί, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.
35. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 686.
ὅτι καὶ ζῇ καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ταῖς τῶν μαρτύρων ψυχαῖς
ὁ Χριστός.
36. Ibid., col. 686.
τὰ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην αὖξεται τὴν ἡμέραν,
καὶ μάλα εἰκότως, οὐ γὰρ γοητεία ἐγίνετο τὰ γινόμενα,
ἀλλὰ θεία δυνάμει, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ καταλύεται.
Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτο τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπόδειξιν
ποιοῦμαι μόνον ὅτι αὖξεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ,
καὶ τῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς σωτηρίᾳ.
37. De Maccabaeis Homilia I, PG 50, col. 618.
Ἀγῶνα γὰρ τιθεὶς ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ τοιοῦτον οἶον ἐκεῖνοι,
ἀλλὰ φρικτὸν καὶ φόβου γέμοντα, οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων
πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡ πάλη, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων πρὸς δαίμονας
ἡ μάχη.
38. Ibid., col. 619.
Ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς γυναῖκα ὑπότρομον, γεγηρακυῖαν,
βακτηρίας δεομένην, εἰς ἀγῶνα εἰσιούσαν, καὶ
καταλύουσιν τυράννου μανίαν, περιγινομένην
ἀσωμάτων δυνάμεων, κρατοῦσαν τοῦ διαβόλου ῥαδίως,
συγκόπτουσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑξίν μετ' ἐξουσίας πολλῆς,
θαύμασον τοῦ ἀγνωσθέντος τὴν χάριν, ἐκπλάγηθι τοῦ
Χριστοῦ τὴν δύναμιν.

39. XI Homilia De Eleazaro Et Septem Pueris, PG 63, col. 526.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις, παντὶ που δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τὰ τραύματα ἔλαβον, τοῦτο ἤδη δεῖξαι πειράσομαι. Τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκεν ἔπαθον, εἰπέ μοι; τοῦ νόμου, φησὶν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κειμένων γραμμάτων. Ἄν τοίνυν φανῇ Χριστὸς ὁ τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον δεδωκώς, οὐκ εὐδὴλον ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παθόντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ νομοθέτου τὴν καρτερίαν ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσαν ἐκείνην; Φέρε δὴ οὖν τοῦτο ἀποδείξωμεν σήμερον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἔστιν ὁ τὸν νόμον δεδωκώς.

40. Ibid., col. 526.

41. Ibid., col. 526.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλε λοιπὸν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνίσχειν ἥλιος ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας γίνεται, καὶ τότε συνέβη. Καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ μηδέπω φανέντος ἡλίου, φαιδρὸς ἡμῖν, ὁ ὀρθρος φαίνεται, τῶν μὲν ἀκτίγων οὐδέπω γιγνομένων δῆλων, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς τῶν ἀκτίων τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ πόρρωθεν καταλάμποντος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τότε συνέβη. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παπαγίνεσθαι ἔμελλεν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, λοιπὸν δὴ τὸ σκότος τῆς δειλίας ἐλύετο, καὶ οὐδέπω παρόντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ σάρκα, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν προοιμίῳ ὄντος, καὶ αὐτῶν λοιπὸν ἀπτομένου τῶν πραγμάτων.

42. Ibid., col. 525.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον οὐ παραιτούμαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καταλέγειν αὐτοὺς μαρτύρων, ὅτι δὴ καὶ λαμπροτέρους τούτους εἶναι φημι. Τότε γὰρ ἠγωνίσαντο, ὅτε οὐδέπω ἦσαν αἱ χαλκαὶ κλασθεῖσαι πύλαι, οὔτε ὁ μοχλὸς ὁ σιδηροῦς περιαιρεθεῖς, ὅτε ἔτι ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐκράτει, καὶ ἡ κατάρα ἦνθει, καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἡ ἀκρόπολις συνειστήκει, καὶ ἀτριβὴς ἦν ἔτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς ἡ ὁδός.

43. Ibid., col. 527.

Chrysostom says that according to Jeremiah 38:31-32, one is the Lawgiver of both Testaments.

Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει Κύριος, τὸν παρόντα

καιρόν δηλῶν, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν καιρόν δηλῶν, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν. Ἐρωτῶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, ἔρωτῶ τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα ἀδελφόν, τίς τὴν καινὴν ἔδωκε διαθήκην; Πάντως ἔρεϊ πᾶς, ὅτι ὁ Χριστός. Οὐκοῦν οὗτος καὶ τὴν παλαιάν ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν, ὅτι Διαθήσομαι διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην, ἔδειξεν ὅτι κακείνην αὐτός διεθέτο οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαθηκῶν εἰς ὃ νομοθέτης.

44. Ibid., col. 527, 528.

Cf. Ibid., col. 528. Chrysostom says that the passage taken from Jeremiah 31:33-34 shows the beauty of the New Testament.

45. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 603.

Ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μὲν πίστιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐν πολλοῖς συγχωρεῖ πολεμεῖσθαι τὰς δὲ αἰρέσεις καὶ τὸν ἑλληνισμόν ἀφίησιν ἀδείας ἀπολαύειν. Τί δήποτε; Ἵνα ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν μάθης οὐκ ἐνοχλουμένων, καὶ αὐτομάτως καταλυομένων, τῆς δὲ πίστεως τὴν ἰσχὺν γνωρίσης πολεμουμένης, καὶ διὰ τῶν κωλυόντων ἀΐξανομένης.

46. Ibid., col. 603.

Ἵμεῖς δὲ μέμνησθε τῆς αἰτίας ἧς εἶπον, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους μαστίζεσθαι ἑλαύνεσθαι μυρία πάσχειν δεινά, Ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δείξῃ δύναμιν... Ὅρας ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ Σατανᾶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ δούλοις ἐμικεῖσθαι καὶ μυρία παρέχειν πράγματα Ἵνα ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεται; Ὅντως γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλίους Ἰουδαίους διαλεγώμεθα ἄρκεϊ τοῦτω ἡμῖν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τὸ διὰ μυρίων πολέμων τὴν πίστιν εἰσενεχθεῖσαν κρατῆσαι.

47. Ibid., col. 603, 604.

Καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος ἀπωθουμένων ἀπάντων τοὺς δώδεκα ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους, τοὺς ἀποστόλους λέγω, δυνηθῆναι ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ μαστιζομένους, ἑλαυνομένους, μυρία πάσχοντας δεινά, τῶν ταῦτα ποιοούντων κρατῆσαι μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ἀπάσης. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐστάθιον ἀφῆκε πρὸς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπενεχθῆναι, Ἵνα μειζόνως ἡμῖν δείξῃ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τῶν αἵρετικῶν τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

48. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 695.

οὐκ ἔτε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα πλείονος μετέλαβε τῆς χάριτος, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπέβαλεν, ἦν εἶχε μετὰ τὸ διαμηθῆναι καὶ κατακοπῆναι πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεσπασάτω πλείονα καὶ μεῖζω τὴν ῥοπὴν. Τί ταύτης γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς νίκης θαυμαστότερον, ὅτι οὓς κατεῖχον καὶ εἶχον ὑποχειρίους, καὶ δῆσαντες ἔξαινον μετὰ ἐξουσίας, τούτους νικῆσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἡττῶντο ἑλεεινῶς καὶ ἀθλίως; Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπολέμουν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔνοικον αὐτῶν θεόν, τὸν δὲ θεῶ πολεμοῦντα ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη μετὰ πολλῆς ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς περιουσίας, δίκην διδόντα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως μόνης, παντί που δῆλόν ἐστι.

49. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. IV, PG 50, col. 491, 492.

50. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 696.

... τοῦ μὲν πονηροῦ δαίμονος τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν τιμωριῶν προσδοκοῦντος ὑποσκελίζειν τοὺς ἀθλητάς, τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ συγχωροῦντος καὶ οὐ κωλύοντος ὥστε καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπίστων μανίαν σαφεστέραν πᾶσιν ἐπιδειχθῆναι καὶ τούτοις λαμπροτέρους καὶ πλείους κλακῆναι τοὺς στεφάνους.

51. Ibid., col. 696.

Καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰωβ γέγονεν καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὁ μὲν πλείους ἦτει κατ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμωρίας. προσδοκῶν περιέσεσθαι τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν δεινῶν τοῦ γενναίου τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀθλητοῦ, ὃ δὲ συνεχώρει, καὶ ἐχαρίζετο ταῖς πονηραῖς αἰτήσεσι τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος, ἐπιφανέστερον τὸν αὐτοῦ ποιῶν ἀθλητὴν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐγένετο.

52. Ibid., col. 697.

Εἰ γὰρ, ὅπου εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι, εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν μέσῳ ἐκείνων, ἦν τότε συνειλεγμένων, οὐχ ὥς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος κολαζομένων διηνεκῶς.

53. De S. Meletio Antiocheno, PG 50, col. 518.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ καλεῖσαι λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων, κατατάξαι χορόν...

54. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 672.

Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῦ μάρτυρος ἔπαινοι μὴ ἐλαττούσθωσαν τῇ
ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς ἡμετέρας γλώττης ἀλλὰ μενέτωσαν τὸν
ἀγωνοθέτην θεόν. Ὁ στεφανῶν αὐτούς, ἐκεῖνος καὶ
ἐπαινέσει, ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐκ
τοῦ θεοῦ.

55. In Acta Apostolorum Homil. XXXIII, PG 60, col. 243.

Οὐ λέγω, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ποιούντος, μὴ γένοιτο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων πονηρίας εὐεργετοῦντος
ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέποτε ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι.

56. Ibid.

Δὸς αὐτοῖς, φησὶν, ἵνα ἐν ὧσιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ γίνεται τὰ
σκάνδαλα, οὐδὲν τούτους βλάπτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελεῖ.
Ὡς περ οὖν καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄκοντες ὠφελοῦσιν οἱ ἐπὶ
τὸ μαρτύριον ἔλκοντες, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὠθοῦνται
πρὸς τοῦτο, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, μὴ ἴδωμεν ὅτι σκανδα-
λίζονται.

57. Ibid.

Τοῦτο αὐτὰ τεκμήριον, τοῦ σπουδαῖον εἶναι τὸ δόγμα,
τὸ πολλοὺς ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ μὴ
καλὸν ἦν ὑπεκρίνοντο. Καὶ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσω ὑμῖν φανερόν.

58. Contra Judaeos Et Gentiles, Quod. Christus Sit
Deus, PG 48, col. 824-825.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ οὐδὲ
θυρωροῦ ἀπειλὴν ἤνεγεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοσαύτην μυσταγωγίαν
ἔφησεν αὐτόν μὴ εἰδέναι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν τὴν οἰκου-
μένην περιέδραμεν, ἐντεῦθεν μυρίοι δῆμοι μαρτύρων
ἐσφάγησαν, ἐλόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ φθέγξασθαι.
Ἐπερ ἐφθέγγατο ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων, μιᾶς θυρωροῦ
δείσας ἀπειλὴν. Οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου πᾶσαι χῶραι καὶ πᾶσαι
πόλεις, καὶ ἔρημος καὶ οἰκουμένη καὶ ἀοίκητος τὸν
ἐσταυρωμένον ἀνακηρύττομεν, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ
καὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὑπάτοι, καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι,
καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄσοφοι καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ τὰ
ποικίλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένη, καὶ λοιπὸν ὅσῃν ἡλῖος
ἐφορᾷ γῆν, ταύτην δὴ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐπέδραμε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ
ἡ προσκύνησις, ἵνα μάθῃς τί ἐστίν. Ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις
αὐτοῦ τιμῇ.

59. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. IV, PG 50, col. 492,493.

60. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 636,637.

Ἐκεῖ τοίνυν διατριβουσῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτάγματα πονηρὰ πανταχοῦ κατεπέμπετο πολλῆς γέμοντα τυραννίδος καὶ ὠμότητος βαρβαρικῆς οἱ γὰρ οἰκεῖοι τοὺς οἰκείους παραδιδότῳσαν, φησὶν, ἄνδρες τὰς γυναῖκας, πατέρες τὰ τέκνα τέκνα τῶν πατέρων, ἀδελφοὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, φίλοι τοὺς φίλους. Χὺ δέ μοι τῶν ῥημάτων ἐνταῦθα ἀναμνήσθητι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ θαύμασον αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἄνωθεν προύλεγε, φησὶ γάρ, "Ἀδελφός ἀδελφὸν παραδώσει, καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπανστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς" (Μαθ. ΙΟ', 21). Προύλεγε δὲ αὐτὰ τότε διὰ τρία ταῦτα, δι' ἐν μὲν, ἵνα μάθωμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ θεὸς τὰ μηδέπω συμβάντα προορῶν πόρρωθεν, "Ὅτι γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο προύλεγε τὰ ἐσόμενα, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, "Διὰ ταῦτα ὑμῖν εἶπον πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι, ἵνα ὅταν γένηται πιστεύσητε, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι" (Ιωαν. Ι4,29).

61. Ibid., col. 637.

Καὶ ταῦτα ὁ προφήτης ἐβόα λέγων, "Ἔθυσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τοῖς δαιμονίοις" (Ψαλ. Ι05, 37), καὶ τοιούτων ἐδίψων αἱμάτων."

62. Ibid., col. 637.

Δεύτερον δέ, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγῃ, ὅτι ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀσθενοῦντος ταῦτα γίνεται, ὁ γὰρ ἄνωθεν προῖδὼν ἡδύνατο καὶ κωλῦσαι οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν δέ, ἵνα λαμπρότεροι γένωνται οἱ στέφανοι. Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα προύλεγε, καὶ δι' ἕτερον δὲ τρίτον προεῖπε.

63. Ibid., col. 637.

Ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο; ἵνα κουφότερον ποιήσῃ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκάμματι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπροσδόκητα δεινὰ, ὅποια ἂν ᾖ χαλεπὰ καὶ ἀφόρητα φαίνεται, τὰ δὲ ἐλπισθέντα καὶ προμελετηθέντα κουφα καὶ ῥάδια γίνεται.

6. The devil's role

1. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 603.

καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τινὲς ἀσθένειαν εἶναι νομίζουσι
σωματικὴν οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἄγγελον
Σατᾶν τοὺς ἀντικειμένους ἀνθρώπους καλεῖ τὸ γὰρ Σατᾶν
τοῦτο Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξις ἐστὶ Σατᾶν δὲ ὁ ἀντικείμενος
λέγεται. Τὰ οὖν σκευὴ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ
διακονουμένους ἀνθρώπους ἄγγέλους αὐτοῦ καλεῖ.

2. De Sancta Thecla Martyre, PG 50, col. 748.

Ἐτήρει δὲ ἅρα τὴν κόρην διάβολος, καὶ τηρήσας
ὁδοιποροῦσαν ἐπιστρατεύει τὸν μνηστῆρα τῇ κόρῃ, τῆς
παρθενίας ὡς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ληστήν. Καὶ δὴ πληροῦση τὴν
ὁδὸν τῇ γενναίᾳ ἱππόπορος κατόπιν ὁ μνηστὴρ ὀπιπεύων
ἐπωλόλυξε σύλληψιν, ἄπορος πανταχόθεν στενοχωρία, ὁ
πολεμῶν ἰσχυρὸς, ἡ πολεμουμένη σαθρά. Ποῦ τις ἐν
ἐρημίᾳ καταφυγῆς καταφυγή; Στραφεῖσα δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν
ἡ παρθένος, πρὸς τὸν πᾶσι πανταχοῦ τοῖς καλοῦσι παρόντα
σὺν οἰμωγαῖς ἀνωλόλυξε, "Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐπὶ σοὶ
ἤλπισα" (Ψαλμ. 7,2).

3. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 592.

Ὁ γὰρ διάβολος, κακουργὸς ὢν καὶ δεινὸς τὰς τοιαύτας
ράπτειν ἐπιβουλὰς...

4. Ibid., col. 592.

Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ ἐκακούργησεν ὁ διάβολος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἕτερον οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτου. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν,
ὧν προειστήκεισαν, ἡφίει σφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἄγων ἀνῆρει ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο ὁμοῦ
μὲν ἐρήμους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λαβεῖν σπεύδων, ὁμοῦ δὲ
ἀσθενεστέρους ἐργάσεσθαι τῷ μόχθῳ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας
ἐλπίζων, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου πεποιήκεν.
Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν
ἐκάλεσεν, μακροτέρους αὐτῷ τιθεὶς τοὺς διαύλους τοῦ
δρόμου, καὶ τῷ μήκει τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἡμερῶν
τὸ φρόνημα καταβάλλειν αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι
συνέμπορον ἔχων Ἰησοῦν καὶ συναπόδημον τῆς τοσαύτης
ὁδοιπορίας, ἰσχυρότερος μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο, καὶ τῆς μετ'

αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως οὔσης πλείονα παρείχε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν,
καὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας συνεκρότει μειζόνως.

5. Ibid., col. 592.

Αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεις συντρέχουσαι πάντοθεν
ἤλειφον τὸν ἀθλητὴν, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐξέπεμπον τῶν
ἐφοδίων, εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις αὐτῷ συναγωνιζόμεναι.

6. De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50,
col. 537.

τὸ δὲ κήρυγμα τὸ ἡμέτερον οὐ μετὰ τὸ διαδοθῆναι
πανταχοῦ, καὶ στήναι βεβαίως, ἔσχε τοὺς πολεμοῦντας,
ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ παγῆναι καὶ φυτευθῆναι ἐν ταῖς τῶν
ἀκουόντων ψυχαῖς, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν προσιμίων πρὸς ἅπασαν
ἡναγκάζετο παρατάττεσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην, πρὸς τὰς
ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ
σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικά τῆς
πονηρίας...

7. Ibid., col. 537, 538.

οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ σπινθῆρος τῆς πίστεως ἀφθέντος καλῶς,
ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄβυσσοι πάντοθεν ἐπεέρρεον.

8. Ibid., col. 538.

9. Ibid., col. 538.

τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταλύων καὶ ἀναλίσκων εὐκόλως,
τὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἀνιστῶν, καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἄφατον αἴρων,
καίτοι ἀνδρῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ ἀσήμων ὑπηρετησαμένων
αὐτῷ.

10. Ibid., col. 538.

Τὸ δὲ αἷτιον οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἀλιέων ἐκείνων οὔτε τὰ ῥήματα,
οὔτε τὰ θαύματα, ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεργούσης δυ-
νάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένων, ὁ μὲν
ἦν σκηνοποιός, ὁ Παῦλος, ὁ Πέτρος δὲ ἀλιεύς, καὶ οὐκ
ἂν οὕτως εὐτελέσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς πλάσαι τι τοιοῦτον
ἐπῆλθέ ποτε, πλὴν εἰ μαίνεσκαί τις αὐτοὺς φαίη καὶ
παραπαίειν.

11. Ibid., col. 538.

“Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμαίνοντο δῆλον ἔξ ὧν εἰπόντες κατῴρωσαν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν πειθομένων αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν ποτε τοιαῦτα ἐψεύσαντο, οὐδὲ ἐκόμπασαν ἀπλῶς.

12. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 573.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τύραννοι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπολέμησαν, καὶ δῆμοι διηνεκῶς ἐπανέστησαν, ὅτι ἔτι βραχὺς ἦν ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας σπινθήρ, ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐκ ἔσβεσαν, οὐ κατέλυσαν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατελύοντο, ὁ δὲ σπινθήρ ἐκεῖνος αὐξόμενος πρὸς ὕψος ἤρετο, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην κατέλαβεν ἅπασαν, σφαττομένων, καιομένων, κρημνιζομένων, καταποντιζομένων, θηρίοις παραδιδομένων τῶν πιστῶν ἀπάντων.

13. Ibid., col. 573.

Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἄνθρακας ὥς πηλὸν κατεπάτησαν, καὶ τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὰ κύματα καθάπερ λειμῶνας ἐώρων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εἶφος ὥς ἐπὶ διάδημα καὶ στέφανον ἔτρεχον.

14. Ibid., col. 573.

καὶ πᾶν εἶδος τιμωρίας ἤλεγξαν οὐ τῷ γενναίως φέρειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μεθ’ ἡδονῆς καὶ προθυμίας πολλῆς.

15. In S. Lucianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 523.16. Ibid., col. 523.

ἕτερον ἐπενόησε χαλεπώτερον τρόπον, καὶ περιῆει ζητῶν τιμωρίαν εὐρεῖν, ὥστε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ δριμυτάτην γενέσθαι καὶ μακροτάτην. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν κολάσεων αἱ μὲν ἀφόρητοι ταχίστην παρέχουσι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιμηκέστεραι ὑποτέμνονται τὴν ὁδύνην, ἐσπούδασεν εὐρεῖν κόλασιν ὁμοῦ τε τὰ ἀμφοτέρωτα ἔχουσας, καὶ μῆκος καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ὁδύνης ἀνήκεστον, ἵνα καὶ τῇ σφοδρότητι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ χρόνου τὸ στερρόν καταβάλλῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας. Καὶ τί ποιεῖ; Αἰμῶ τὸν ἅγιον παραδίδωσι τοῦτον, σὺ δὲ λιμὸν ἀκούσας μὴ παρέλθῃς ἀπλῶς τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπάντων γὰρ θανάτων οὗτός ἐστι χαλεπώτατος.

17. Ibid., col. 523.18. Ibid., col. 523.

19. Ibid., col. 523.

τῆς δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου τούτο γενναιότητος οὐκ ἐκράτησε.
 Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπλαγείη ταῦτα ἀκούσας; Καίτοι τί
 φύσεως δυνατώτερον; τί δὲ προαιρέσεως ὀξυρρέπεστερον;
 Ἄλλ' ἵνα μάθης, ὅτι τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν
 ἰσχυρότερον, προαίρεσις φύσεως εὐτονωτέρα ἐφάνη.

20. Ibid., col. 523.

καὶ μητέρας μὲν ἤλεγξε, καὶ ὠδίνων ἐπιλαθέσθαι
 ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ ἅγιον τοῦτον ὑποσκελίσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν,
 οὐδὲ περιεγένετο τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἢ κόλασις, οὐδὲ
 τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐκράτησεν ἢ τιμωρία.

21. Ibid., col. 523.

ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἀδάμαντος παντός ἰσχυρότερος, ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς
 ἐντρυφῶν ἐλπίζει, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενος
 ὑποθέσει, ἱκανὴν παραμυθίαν ἔχων τῶν ἀθλῶν τὴν ἀφορμὴν...

22. Ibid., col. 524.

καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μέγα ἔνδοθεν ἐμβοῶντος, καὶ τῶν προκει-
 μένων κελεύοντος ἐφάπτεσθαι, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ φόβος
 τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέστελε, καὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐπιλαθέσθαι
 παρεσκεύαζε.

23. Ibid., col. 524.

καὶ τράπεζαν ὀρῶν μιὰν καὶ ἐναγῇ.

24. Ibid., col. 524.

τραπέζης ἐμνήσθη ἑτέρας τῆς φρικώδους καὶ Πνεύματος
 γεμούσης...

25. Ibid., col. 523.

Cf. also Ibid. II Cor. 11:27 and I Cor. 4:11.

26. Ibid., col. 524.

Ἀνεμνήσθη καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκείνης τῶν τριῶν παίδων,
 οἱ νέοι ληφθέντες, καὶ πάσης ἔρημοι προστασίας ὄντες,
 ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ καὶ βαρβάρῳ χώρᾳ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο
 φιλοσοφίαν, ὥς μέχρι νῦν ἄδεσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτῶν.

27. Ibid., col. 524.

Εἰ τοίνυν οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ δοῦλοι, καὶ νέοι πρὸ
τῆς χάριτος τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο φιλοσοφίαν, φησί,
ποίας ἂν εἴημεν ἡμεῖς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, μηδὲ πρὸς
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἀρετὴν φθάσαι δυνηθέντες.

28. Ibid., col. 524.

ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστην πεῦσιν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι Χριστιανός
εἰμι, μόνον, καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ δημίου. Ποίας εἶ πατρίδος;
Χριστιανός εἰμι, φησί. Τί ἔχεις ἐπιτήδευμα; Χριστιανός
εἰμι. Τίνας προγόνους; ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔλεγεν,
ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι ἐνὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψιλῷ τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ
διαβόλου πλήττων τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλα
τὰ τραύματα αὐτῷ παρέχων.

29. Ibid., col. 524.

Ἀλλὰ πίστεως, οὐ δεινότητος λόγου, ἀλλὰ φιλοθέου ψυχῆς.

30. Ibid., col. 525.

Ὁ Χριστιανός οὐκ ἔχει πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Cf. also under same citing: Philip. 3:20; Eph. 2:19;
Gal. 4:26.

31. In S. Romanum Martyrem I, PG 50, col. 608.

καὶ γὰρ κακουργόν ἐστι τὸ θηρίον, καὶ πάντα κατὰ τῆς
ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας πρᾶγμα τεύεταί καὶ κινεῖ.

32. Ibid., col. 608.

φέρει οὖν ἐξετάσωμεν, τί δήποτε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκοπὴν τῆς
γλώττης ἐχώρησε, μικρὸν γοῦν ἀνωτέρω τὸν λόγον
ἀγαγόντες.

33. Ibid., col. 608.

οὕτω γὰρ εἰσόμεθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιланθρωπίαν,
καὶ τὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος ὑπομονὴν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου
κακουργίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ φιланθρωπίαν
μαθόντες εὐχαριστήσομεν τῷ Δεσπότῃ, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μάρτυρος
ὑπομονὴν γνόντες μιμησόμεθα τὸν σύνδουλον, τὴν δὲ
τοῦ διαβόλου κακουργίαν καταμαθόντες,
ἀποστραφησόμεθα τὸν ἐχθρόν.

34. Ibid., col. 608.

Cf. also in same citing II Cor. 2:8 and 11.

35. Ibid., col. 608.

οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, καὶ πατρίδος, καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἀγαθῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου ζωῆς, ὑπὲρ ὁμολογίας τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν... ἀλλὰ τῆς ἁνῶς Ἱερουσαλήμ, τῆς ἐλευθέρας ἐπεχειροῦν ἀποστερεῖν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἕκαστον καταθῆναι ἡνάγκαζον ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον δεσπότην ἐξόμνυσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων ὑποκύπτειν τυραννίδι, καὶ τοὺς λυμεῶνας καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας θεραπεύειν δαίμονας, ὅ μυρίων θανάτων καὶ πάσης, γεένης χαλεπώτερον ἦν καὶ ἀφορητότερον ταῖς φιλοχρίστοις ψυχαῖς.

36. Ibid., col. 608.

ἀλλὰ πρότερον τοὺς πεφοβημένους, τοὺς ἀναπεπτωκότας, τοὺς τὴν οἰκείαν προδόντας σωτηρίαν συνῆγε, παρεθάρρυνεν, ἀναμαχέσασθαι παρεσκεύαζε, τοὺς μὲν καταπεσόντας ἀνορθῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἐστῶτας ἀσφαλιζόμενος εὐχαῖς καὶ παραινέσεσι, καὶ συμβουλαῖς...

37. Ibid., col. 608,609.

περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, περὶ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων πολλὰ φιλοσοφῶν, δεικνύς τὸ πρόσκαιρον τούτων, τὸ διηνεκές ἐκείνων.

38. Ibid., col. 609.

ἀντιτιθεῖς τοῖς πόνοις τὰ ἔπαλθα, ταῖς βασάνοις τοὺς στεφάνους, ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι τὰ βραβεῖα, διδάσκων τίς μὲν ἡ παροῦσα ζωῇ, τίς δὲ ἡ μέλλουσα, καὶ πόσον ἑκατέρας τὸ μέσον, καὶ ὅτι πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη...

39. Ibid., col. 609.

κἂν γὰρ μὴ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καταλύσωμεν τὴν ζωὴν, τῷ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως πάντως ἀναγκαζόμενοι μικρὸν γοῦν ὕστερον τῶν σωμάτων ἀπορρησόμεθα τούτων.

40. Ibid., col. 609.

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτοις εἰκότα παραινῶν ἀνῶρθεσε τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας ἐστήριζε τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα, τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπανήγαγε, τὴν δειλίαν ἐξέβαλε, τὴν ἀγωνίαν

ἀπῆλασε, θάρσος ἐνέθηκεν, ἀντὶ δειλῶν προθύμους
ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δορκάδων καὶ ἐλάφων λέοντας ἀπειργάσατο
πολλῆς πνέοντας τῆς ἰσχύος, συνεκρότησε τοῦ Χριστοῦ
τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰς
τῶν πολεμίων μετήνεγκε κεφαλὰς.

41. Ibid., col. 609.

Ἰδὼν τοίνυν ὁ διάβολος ἀθρόαν μεταβολὴν
γεγεννημένην, καὶ τοὺς χθῆς καὶ πρῶην δεδοικότας αὐτὸν
καὶ τρέμοντας, νῦν καταγελῶντας αὐτοῦ καὶ κατατολ-
μῶντας, ἐπαποδυσμένους τοῖς κινδύνοις,
ἐπιπηδῶντας τοῖς κολαστηρίοις.

42. Ibid., col. 609.

43. Ibid., col. 609.

Ἀνθρακας ὑπεστόρεσα φησὶν, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ ῥόδα ἔτρεχον
πῦρ ἀνῆψα, οἱ δὲ ὥς εἰς πηγὰς ὑδάτων ψυχρῶν ἑαυτοὺς
ἔρριψαν κατέξανα τὰς πλευράς καὶ βαθείας ἀνέτεμον
αὐλακας, καὶ κατήγαγον ῥύακας αἱμάτων, οἱ δὲ ὥς
χρυσίῳ πάντοθεν περιῤῥέομενοι, οὕτως ἐκαλλωπίζοντο
τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἔρριψα, καὶ εἰς πέλαγος κατεπόντισα, οἱ
δὲ οὐχ ὥς εἰς βυθὸν κατὰβαίνοντες, ἀλλ' ὥς εἰς αὐτὸν
ἀναβαίνοντες τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτω διέκειντο σκιρτῶντες,
καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι...

44. Ibid., col. 609.

καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερᾷ πομπῇ χορεύοντες, καὶ ἐν λειμῶνι
παίζοντες χλοερῷ, οὕτω τὰς τιμωρίας ἕκαστος ἥρπάζον,
οὐχ ὥς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἄνθη λαμβάνοντες ἑαρινὰ, καὶ
στεφανούμενοι...

45. Ibid., col. 609.

Ἀλλ' ὅπερ εὐχεται, τοῦτο γίνεται, καὶ μείζονα λαμ-
βάνουσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων παραίνεσιν, καὶ
γὰρ παρήνεσεν, ὅτι μαρτύρων θάνατος οὐκ ἔστι θάνατος,
ἀλλὰ ζωὴ πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσα, καὶ μάλιστα γε ὑπὲρ ταύτης
πάντα ὑπομένειν χρή, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ καταφρονεῖν τελευτῆς...

46. Ibid., col. 609.

Ἄν τοίνυν ἀποτέμω τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ γενναίως ἐνέγκῃ
τὸ συμβάν, διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοὺς παιδεύσει σαφέστερον,
ὅτι οὕτω θανάτου δεῖ καταφρονεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν

ἀνορθώσει τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ πλείονα αὐτοῖς ἐμπνεύσει.
τελευτήσας τὴν προθυμίαν.

47. Ibid., col. 610.

48. Ibid., col. 610.

ὅθεν λοιπὸν πνευματικωτέρας ἀπήλαυον οἱ μαθηταὶ
διδασκαλίας, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ καθάπερ τὰ
πρότερα ἀκούοντες, ἀλλὰ θεία τινί, καὶ πνευματικῇ,
καὶ μείζονι τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας...

49. Ibid., col. 610.

καὶ πάντες συνέτρεχον, ἄνωθεν ἄγγελοι, κάτωθεν
ἄνθρωποι, ἕκαστος χωρὶς γλώττης στόμα ἰδεῖν
ἐπιθυμοῦντες.

50. Ibid., col. 610.

καὶ γὰρ ἔθος τῷ θεῷ τοιοῦτον ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἅπερ ἂν καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ διάβολος ῥάψῃ, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου
τρέπειν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας κατασκευάζειν
σωτηρίας.

51. Ibid., col. 610.

Σκόπει δὲ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παραδείσου τὸν
ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀνέψξεν αὐτῷ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ θεός,
ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ
ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁ θεός, καὶ
ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὴν φύσιν ἐνίδρυσε τὴν
ἡμετέραν.

52. Ibid., col. 610.

οὕτως αἰεὶ μείζονα δίδωσιν ἀγαθὰ, ὧν ὁ διάβολος ἀπο-
στερεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ. Ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνόν τε ὀκνηρό-
τερον ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν κατασκευάζων ἐπιβουλαῖς, ἡμᾶς
δὲ παιδεύων μηδέποτε αὐτοῦ δεδοικέναι τὰ μηχανήματα,
ὅ δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μάρτυρος.

53. Ibid., col. 610.

καίτοι καὶ εἰ ἄφωνος ἔσθι μετὰ τὴν τῆς γλώττης ἐκκο-
πὴν ὁ μάρτυς, καὶ οὕτως αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν ἀγώνων πεπλήρωτο,
καὶ ὁ στέφανος ἀπήρτιστο ἥττω γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ σαφὴς
ἀπόδειξις ἦν τὸ τὴν γλῶτταν τεμεῖν.

54. Ibid., col. 611.

ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσει διαπιστοῦν-
τες; Ἰδοὺ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ ἐν
μιαῖ καιροῦ ῥομῇ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω γέγονε. Καίτοι τοῦτο
τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως πολλῶ μείζον ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ
μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις τῶν σωμάτων ὑπόκειται, ἡ σύνθεσις
δὲ διαλέλνται μόνον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς
φωνῆς ἀνήρητο, ἀλλ' ὅμως λαμπροτέρα πάλιν ἐγίγνετο.

55. Ibid., col. 611.

55a. Ibid., col. 611-612:

τότε μὲν οὖν ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων, νῦν
δὲ ἐκ στόματος ἀγλώττων.

Cf. also Ibid., col. 612: "We glorify God who works
the miracles" (δοξάζωμεν τὸν ταῦτα θαυματουργοῦντα
θεόν).

Cf. also In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 615,
616. Here Chrysostom is saying that Christ is
behind the scenes aiding the faithful and protecting
the Church from the assaults of her enemies. He
also says that danger makes a martyr feel courage
before Christ. (Βλέπει τὸ πέλαγος ταῖς

ἀντιπνοαῖς χειμαζόμενον, καὶ τὰ τῶν κινδυνευόντων
μαθητῶν φθέγγεται ῥήματα "Ἐπιστάτα, σῶσον, ἀπολ-
λύμεθα" (Λουκ. 8,24), πειραταὶ τὸ σκάφος
περιστοιχίζονται, λύκοι πολιορκοῦσι τὸ ποίμνιον,
λησταὶ τὴν πασάδα τὴν σὴν διορύττουσι, μοιχικὰ
συρίγματα τὴν σὴν νύμφην περικτυπεῖ, πάλιν ὁ ὄφις τοιχω-
ρυχεῖ τὸν παράδεισον ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος ἡ πέτρα
σαλεύεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἄγκυραν
ῥίψον, καὶ τὴν πέτραν στήριξον σειομένην, "Ἐπισ-
τάτα, σῶσον, ἀπολλύμεθα. Ὁ Κοινὸς κίνδυνος μερίζει τὸν
μάρτυρα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην παρρησιάζεται...
Cf. also In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 616.
Here Chrysostom says that it is God who grants St.
Romanos a spiritual tongue. (Ἄλλ' "Ὁ δρασσομένος
τοὺς σοφούς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν" (Α' Κορ. 3,19),
τὸ ἐκτμηθὲν ὄργανον τῆς φωνῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀποδίδωσι,
καὶ ἀοράτῳ γλώττῃ τὸν χωλεύοντα φθόγγον ὑποστηρίζει,
καὶ ἡχαρίζεται τῷ ἀγλώττῳ τὴν φωνὴν ἔργῳ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
δημιουργίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος τῷ τυράννῳ.

56. Ibid., col. 612.

Καὶ γὰρ ἵνα ταῦτα μὴ ἀπιστῇται, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνα προ-
έδραμεν, ἵνα ἐν τούτοις μὴ θορυβώμεθα, τῆς διανοίας
ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις προεθισθείσης. Διὰ τοῦτο, ταῦτα
ἀπήντησεν, ἵνα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ ἀπὸ τῶν
φανερῶν καὶ νεωστὶ γενομένων πιστεύηται. Οὕτω ποτὲ
καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἐβλάστησεν, ὥσπερ ἐβλάστησε τὸ
στόμα τοῦ μάρτυρος νῦν. Ἀλλὰ τίνος ἕνεκεν
ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν τότε; (Ap. I7).

57. In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 616.

ὅροι δὲ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος οὐ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τοῖχοι,
ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα.

58. Ibid., col. 616.

59. De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col 651.

Ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔστηκεν ὁ διάβολος εἰς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν
ταύτην μάνδραν εἰσελθεῖν οὐ τολμᾷ ἔνθα γὰρ ποιίμνη
Χριστοῦ, λύκος οὐ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἔξω τὸν ποιμένα δε-
δοικῶς ἔστηκεν.

60. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 671.

Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τότε μεθ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ
λάκκου τῶν λεόντων ἀναβάντα ἐθαύμασαν ἰδόντες οἱ
Βαβυλώνιοι, οὕτω καὶ τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σάκκου
καὶ τῶν κυμάτων ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐθαύμασαν
ὄρωντες οἱ ἄγγελοι. Ὁ Δανιὴλ κατηγωνίσαστο καὶ ἐνί-
κησε δύο λέοντας, ἀλλ' αἰσθητοῦς, οὗτος κατηγωνίσαστο
καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἓνα λέοντα νοητὸν.

61. Ibid., col. 671.

62. Ibid., col. 671.

ἀλλ' ἡττήθη τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἀπέθετο γὰρ τὸν ἴον
τῆς ἁμαρτίας· διόπερ οὐ κατέπιε τοῦτον διὰ τοῦτο
οὐκ ἔδειξεν οὔτε λέοντα, οὔτε τὸν θυμὸν τῶν θηρίων.

63. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 677.

οὐ διώκουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ διώκουσι δαίμονες, οὐκ
ἐλαύνει τύραννος, ἀλλ' ἐλαύνει διάβολος, τυράννων
πάντων χαλεπώτερος.

64. Ibid., col. 677, 678.

τῶν ἁγίων τοὺς μὲν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τήγανα, τοὺς δὲ εἰς λέβητας ἐνέβαλε τοῦ πυρὸς σφοδρότερον ζέοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὰς πλευρὰς κατέβαινε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς πέλαγος κατεπόντισεν, ἄλλους θηρίοις παρέδωκεν, ἑτέρους εἰς κάμινον εἰσήγαγε, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐξεμόχλευσε τὰ ἄρθρα, τῶν δὲ τὰς δορὰς ἔτι ζώντων ἀπέσυρεν, ἑτέρων τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμαχμένους ὑπέθηκεν ἄνθρακας, καὶ οἱ σπινθήρες ἐπεπήδων τοῖς ἔλκεσι, θηρίου παντὸς δριμύτερον τὰ τραύματα δάκνοντες, ἄλλοις ἄλλας ἐπενόει χαλεπωτέρας τιμωρίας.

65. Ibid., col. 678.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶδεν ἅπαντα ταῦτα καταγελασθέντα, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα παθόντας μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς περιουσίας κρατήσαντας, καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐρχομένοις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ παλαίσματα μεγίστην τοῦ θαρρύνειν ὑπόθεσιν γενομένους, τί ποιεῖ;

66. Ibid., col. 678.

Καινὸν ἐπινοεῖ τρόπον ἐπιβουλῆς, ἵνα τὸ ἀμελέτητον καὶ ἄηθες τῆς τιμωρίας καταβάλῃ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ μάρτυρος. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκουσθὲν καὶ νοηθὲν, κἂν ἀφόρητον ᾖ, τῇ προσδοκίᾳ μελετηθὲν εὐκαταφρόνητον γίνεται τὸ δὲ ἀμελέτητον, κἂν κοῦφον ᾖ, πάντων ἐστὶν ἀφορητότερον. Ἐστω τοίνυν καινὸς ὁ ἀγὼν, ἔστω ξένον τὸ μηχανήμα, ἵνα τὸ καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον θορυβῇσαν τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὑποσκελίσῃ ῥαδίως.

67. Ibid., col. 678.

Ἴνα ἂν μὲν ἡττηθῶσιν οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι, αἰσχρὰ αὐτῶν ἢ ἦττα γένηται, ὅτι μὴδὲ πρὸς τὰ μικρὰ ἀντέστησαν ἂν δὲ περιγέωνται καὶ νικήσωσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι προκαταβληθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως εὐχείρωτοι γέωνται πρὸς τὰ μείζονα. Διὰ τοῦτο προσήγαγε τὰ ἐλάττονα πρότερον, ἵνα κἂν ἔλῃ, κἂν μὴ ἔλῃ, μὴ ἀποτύχῃ ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἔλῃ, φησί, κατεγέλασα ἂν δὲ μὴ ἔλῃ, ἀσθενεστέρους ἐποίησα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα.

68. Ibid., col. 678.

παλαιστρα γὰρ τῷ μάρτυρι τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἦν, κακεῖ
κατ' ἰδίαν τῷ θεῷ διαλεγόμενος παρ' ἐκείνου τὰ παλαι-
σματα ἐμάνθανεν ἅπαντα ὅπου γὰρ δεσμὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκεῖ
καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς πάρεστιν.

69. Ibid., col. 678.

Τὴν χεῖρα κελεύσαντες ὑπτίαν ἐκτεῖναι ὑπεράνω τοῦ
βωμοῦ, ἐπέθηκαν ἄνθρακας καὶ λιβανωτὸν τῇ χειρὶ, ἵνα
ἐὰν ἀλγήσῃ, καὶ περιστρέψῃ τὴν χεῖρα, θυσίαν αὐτῷ καὶ
παράβασιν τὸ πρᾶγμα λογίσωνται.

70. Ibid., col. 677.

ὅν τρόπον ὁ μακάριος καὶ γενναῖος ἀθλητὴς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ Βαρλαάμ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χειρός,
ὁλόκληρον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ πυρὰν βαστάζων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ὀφύνην οὐκ ἐνδιδούς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀπαθέστερον
διακείμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤλγει μὲν, καὶ ἔπασχε σῶμα
γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, καὶ οὐ σίδηρος ἀλγῶν δὲ καὶ
πάσχων τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυνάμενων ἐν σώματι θνητῷ
φιλοσοφίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο.

71. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 689.

οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης οἱ μὲν ἄπιστοι
τηκομένην αὐτῆς τὴν σάρκα ὁρῶντες καὶ καταρρέουσαν,
ἐνόμιζον τέφραν γίνεσθαι καὶ κόνιν, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ
σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς ἤδεσαν, ὅτι τηκομένη πᾶσαν ἀποτίθεται
κηλίδα, καὶ λαμπρότερα ἀνείσιν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀπο-
λαβοῦσα. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πυρᾷ, πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως,
οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐκράτει τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων αἱ γὰρ
σάρκες λυθεῖσαι τῷ πυρὶ, καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῦσαι, μετὰ
πολλῆς αὐτὰς τῆς περιουσίας ἐτρέποντο. Καὶ καθάπερ
στρατιώτης γενναῖος ὅπλα χαλκᾷ πριθεὶς ἑαυτῷ, καὶ αὐτῷ
τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς δειλοτέρους καταπλήττει τῶν
ἀντιπάλων οὕτω δὲ καὶ τότε ἡ μακαρία Δροσίς, τῷ ψόφῳ τοῦ
δέρματος τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκείνας ἐφυγάδευσεν, καὶ οὐ τούτῳ
μόνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρῳ πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττονι τούτου.
Ὅμοῦ τε γὰρ ἐπέβαινε τῆς πυρᾶς, καὶ καπνὸς ἀνελθὼν εἰς
ὑψος καὶ τὸν ἄερα κατασχών, τοὺς κατὰ ἄερα δαίμονας
πετομένους ἀπέπνευγεν ἅπαντας, τὸν διάβολον ἀπήλαυνεν,

αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν φύσιν ἀπέσμηχεν.

72. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 601,602.

Σὺ δὲ μοι σκόπει τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν πονηρίαν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ποροσφάτως ἦν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς πόλεμος καταλυθεὶς, καὶ ἄρτι τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ ἐπαλλήλων διωγμῶν ἀνεπεπνεύκεισαν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πόλυς ὁ χρόνος, ἐξ οὗ λαοὶ μὲν ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἅπαντες, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐσβέσθησαν, πᾶσα δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων ἡ μανία καταλέλυτο, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλύπει τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο πρῶως φέρειν τὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην, τί οὖν ποιεῖ; Ἄλλοτε ἐπεισάγει πόλεμον χαλεπὸν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐξωτικὸς, οὗτος δὲ ἐμφύλιος ἦν οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι δυσφύλακτοι μᾶλλον εἰσὶ, καὶ ῥαδίως χειροῦνται τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας.

73. Ibid., col. 602.

Καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου γέγονε, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνου συνέβαινε. Ὅσοι γὰρ οὐκ ἰσχύοντες ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Στεφάνου, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλίθασον τὸν ἅγιον ἐκεῖνον, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἰσχύοντες ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ τούτου, καὶ ὁρῶντες ἡσφαλισμένα τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ἐκβάλλουσι τῆς πόλεως λοιπὸν τὸν κήρυκα.

74. Ibid., col. 602.

Ἄλλ' ἡ φωνὴ οὐκ εἰσαίγα, ἀλλ' ἐξεβάλλετο μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἐξεβάλλετο.

See also Paul: II Tim. 2:9 under the same citing.

75. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 670.

Ἐξήλλετο γὰρ ἡ ἁγία φωνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρικοῦ στόματος, καὶ ἐφείλκετο μεθ' ἑαυτῆς φῶς φαιδρότερον τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος.

76. Ibid., col. 671.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μάρτυρος φωνὴ ἐκκηδήσασα ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας γλώττης ἐκείνης ἀνεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Παρῆλθε τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶδον αὐτὴν ἄγγελοι, καὶ παρεχώρησαν, ἀρχάγγελοι, καὶ ὑπεξέστησαν τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις αὐτὴν ὠδήγησαν ἄνω, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, ἕως οὗ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγάγον τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικόν.

d. The martyr's relics

1. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 594.

2. Ibid., col. 594.

ὀλίγον ὑμῶν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀπέστησεν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ὑμῖν δόξης αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο... οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τίμιον τοῦτον θησαυρὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ὀλίγον χρησάμενος χρόνον, καὶ τῇ πόλει δείξας ἐκείνη, μετὰ πλείονος ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἀποδέδωκε τῆς λαμπρότητος.... πόσαις εὐφημίαις πάντοθεν βάλλειν τὸν στεφανίτην;

3. Ibid., col. 594, 595.

Καθάπερ γὰρ ἀθλητὴν γενναῖον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς καταπαλαίσαντα ἅπαντας, καὶ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς ἐξελθόντα δόξης ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάμματος...

ἀνυμνοῦσι τὸν ἀγνωσθέντα, καταγελῶσαι τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῷ περιετράπη τὸ σόφισμα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐνόμισε κατὰ τοῦ μάρτυρος ποιεῖν, τοῦτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε...

καὶ καθάπερ θησαυρὸς διηνεκῆς, καθ' ἐκάστην ἀντλούμενος τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλείπων, ἅπαντας τοὺς μετέχοντας εὐπωτέρους ποιεῖ οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Ἰγνάτιος...

4. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 529.

Μὴ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἴδης, ὅτι γυμνὸν τοῦ μάρτυρος τὸ σῶμα πρόκειται τῆς ψυχικῆς ἐνεργείας ἔρημον ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκόπει, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἑτέρα παρακάθεται μείζων αὐτῷ δύναμις, ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάρις, πᾶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπολογουμένη δι' ὧν θαυματοποιεῖ.

5. Ibid., col. 529.

Εἰ γὰρ νεκροῖς σώμασι καὶ διαλυθεῖσιν εἰς κόνιν μείζονα τῶν ζώντων ἁπάντων δύναμιν ὁ θεὸς ἐχαρίσατο, πολλῶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ζωὴν χαριεῖται βελτίω τῆς προτέρας, καὶ μακαριωτέραν κατὰ τὸν τῶν στεφάνων καιρόν.

6. Ibid., col. 532.

“Ὅτι γὰρ σκηψίς ταῦτα, καὶ πρόφασις ἦν, καὶ τὸν μακάριον ἐδεδοίκει Βαβύλαν, δῆλον ἔξ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔπραξε τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους ἅπαντας νεκροὺς ἀφείς, ἐκεῖνον τὸν μάρτυρα μόνον ἐκίνει. Καίτοι γε εἰ βδελυττόμενος αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φοβούμενος ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἐχρῆν κελεῦσαι συντριβῆναι τὴν λάρνακα, καταποντισθῆναι εἰς ἔρημίαν ἀπαχθῆναι, ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἀπωλείας ἀφανισθῆναι τρόπῳ.

7. De S. Babylla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 558.

“Ὅτι γὰρ μείζονα τοῦ προτέρου φόβον τούτοις τοῖς δευτέροις εἰργάσατο, δῆλον ἐκεῖθεν. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν λαβὼν καὶ ἔφησε καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, οὗτοι δὲ μόνον μετέθηκαν. Διὰ τί γὰρ μὴ καταποντίσαι τὴν λάρνακα μήτε ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε, μήτε οὗτος ἐθέλησε; διὰ τί μὴ συνέτριψε καὶ κατέκαυσε; διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον αὐτὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι προσέταξεν; Εἰ γὰρ ἄγος ἦν καὶ μίasma, καὶ βδελυττόμενος, ἀλλὰ μὴ δεδοικώς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὴν ἐκίνησεν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐχρῆν τὸ ἄγος εἰσάγειν, ἀλλ’ ἀποικίζειν εἰς ὄρη καὶ νάπας.

8. Ibid., col. 558.

Ἄλλ’ ἤδει καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐχ ἦττον ὁ δαίμων τοῦ μακαρίου τὴν ἰσχύν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἔδεισε, μὴ τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος σκηπτὸν ἢ τινα νόσον ἐτέραν ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν πορκαλέσεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἶχε πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως τὰ τεκμήρια...

9. De S. Hieromartyre Babylla, PG 50, col. 532.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν μάρτυς ἐκινεῖτο, ὁ δὲ δαίμων οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀδείας ἀπέλαυεν ἀλλ’ εὐθέως ἐμάνθανεν, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν μάρτυρος μετακινήσαι δυνατόν ἐστίν, χεῖρας δὲ μάρτυρος διαφυγεῖν ἀδύνατον. Ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἡ λάρναξ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εἴλκετο, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦρχετο, τοῦ ξοάνου, καὶ τὰ πάντα κατέφλεγε. Καίτοι γε, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τότε γοῦν εἰκὸς ἦν ὀργισθῆναι τὸν ἀσεβῆ βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφεῖναι εἰς τὸ

μαρτύριον τοῦ μάρτυρος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τότε ἐτόλμησε τοσοῦτος αὐτὸν κατεῖχε φόβος ἀλλὰ καίτοι τὸν ἐμπρησμόν ὄρων ἀφόρητον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς, ἡσύχαζε.

10. Ibid., col. 532.

Ἦδει γάρ, ἦδει θεήλατον οὖσαν τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ ἐδεδοίκει μὴ περαιτέρω τι διανοηθείς, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκεῖνο καλέσῃ τὸ πῦρ κεφαλὴν... Καὶ γὰρ ἐστήκασιν οἱ τοῖχοι νῦν ἀντὶ τροπαίων, σάλπιγγος λαμπροτέραν ἀφιέντες φωνὴν, τοῖς ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ, τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις, τοῖς συνοῦσι, τοῖς αὖθις ἐσομένοις ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα διηγοῦνται διὰ τῆς ὀψεως, τὴν πάλιν, τὴν συμπλοκὴν, τὴν νίκην τοῦ μάρτυρος.

11. De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 559.

Τί δὴ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἦν; Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν οὐ τὴν δύναμιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄφατον φιланθρωπίαν ἐπιδεικνύον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅγιος μάρτυς τῶν ἱερῶν εἶσω περιβόλων ἦν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, πρὶν εἰς τὴν Δάφνην ἐλθεῖν ὃ δὲ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐμάνθανεν εὐθέως, ὅτι μάτην αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπάτης μεμηχάνηται, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρὸς νεκρὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ζῶντα καὶ ἐνεργοῦντα, καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων δαιμόνων ἰσχυρότερον.

12. Ibid., col. 559, 560.

Καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἴλκετο μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἵνα μὴ θείας ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνης κακουργίας ἔργον εἶναι μαρτυρήσῃ τὸ γεχονὸς στρεβλούμενος δὲ καὶ αἰκιζόμενος καὶ οὐδένα ἔχων ἐκδοῦναι, ἐμαρτύρει θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, ὥς μηδὲ τοῖς ἀναισχυντεῖν βουλομένοις εἶναι τίνα λόγον λοιπόν.

13. Ibid., col. 553.

τοῦ δὲ ἀπελάσαι τὸ μένοντος περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἔλαπτον ἦν. Καὶ ὁ πάντας πανταχοῦ πρότερον ἀπατῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν κόνιν ἀντιβλέψαι ἐτόλμησε τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα τοσαύτη τῶν ἁγίων ἡ δύναμις, ὧν ζώντων μὲν οὐδὲ τὰς σκιάς φέρουσιν, οὐδὲ τὰ ἱμάτια, τελευτησάντων δὲ καὶ τὰς λάρνακας τρέμουσιν.

14. Ibid., col. 558.

καὶ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν παρρησίαν ὁ ἀνδροφόνος,
τελευτήσαντος δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὴν κόνιν οὔτε ὁ βασιλεὺς,
οὔτε ὁ δαίμων ὁ ταῦτα κινῶν τὸν βασιλέα ποιεῖν.

15. Ibid., col. 558.

“Ὡστε εἴ τις μὴ καταδέχοιτο τὴν ἀνάστασιν, λαμπρότερα
τοῦ μάρτυρος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔργα θεώμενος, αἰσχυ-
νέσθω λοιπόν. Οἷον γὰρ τις ἀριστεὺς τροπαίοις συνῆπτε
τρόπαια, μεγάλοις μείζονα καὶ θαυμαστοῖς θαυμαστότερα.

16. Ibid., col. 558.

... νῦν δὲ τοῦ χωρίου πάντος τῆς Δάφνης τὸν
λυμεῶνα ἀπήγαγεν, οὐ χειρὶ χρώμενος καθάπερ καὶ
πρότερον, ἀλλ’ ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει τὴν ἀόρατον καταγωνι-
ζόμενος.

17. Ibid., col. 570.

ὁ μὲν τύραννος οὕτω τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, τῆς δὲ μανίας
αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα, ἔστηκεν
ὑπομνήματα ὅ τε νεῶς καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, ὁ μὲν ἔρημος ὢν,
τὸ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον ἐνέργειαν ἥπερ καὶ πρότερον.

Ἡ δὲ λάρναξ οὐκέτι πάλιν ἀνάγεται, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο
οἰκονομήσαντος, ἵνα τρανοτέρα τοῖς ἐπὶ ἐγινόμενοις
γένηται τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου κατορθωμάτων ἢ γυνῶσις. Ἐκαστος
γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἡκόντων ἐφιστάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ
τὸν μάρτυρα ζητῶν, εἴτα οὐχ ὁρῶν ἐκεῖ, εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὸ
ζητῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔρχεται, καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν ἱστορίαν
ἀκούσας ἅπεισι, πλεον κερδάνας ἢ πρότερον οὕτω καὶ
παραγενόμενος τῇ Δάφνῃ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν
τὰ μέγιστα ὀνίνησι.

18. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 533.

καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ τῶν ὁμοζήλων ἀπεδώκατε
χορῷ ἢ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρις οὐκ εἴασεν ἐκεῖ διηνεκῶς
μεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πέραν μετέστησεν,
ὥστε πολλὰ τῶν χωρίων τῆς εὐωδίας ἐμπλησθῆναι τοῦ
μάρτυρος.

19. De S. Babyla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 570-572.

Τοιαύτη ἡ τῶν μαρτύρων ἰσχὺς, καὶ ζώντων, καὶ τελευτώντων, καὶ τόποις ἐφισταμένων, καὶ πάλιν αὐτοὺς καταλιμπανόντων. Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους συνῆπται τὰ κατορθώματα συνεχῇ. Ὅρα γὰρ, ἤμυνε τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοις ὑβριζομένοις, ἔλαβεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος δίκην, ἣν ἔδει ἔδειξεν ὅσον ἱερωσύνης καὶ βασιλείας τὸ μέσον, κατέλυσε πάντα τὸν τοῦ κόσμου τύπον, καὶ κατεπάτησε τοῦ βίου τὴν φαντασίαν, ἐπαίδευσεν τοὺς βασιλεῖς μὴ πέρα τοῦ δοθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μέτρου τὴν ἐξουσίαν προάγειν ἔδειξε τοῖς ἱερωμένοις πῶς ταύτης προῖστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τούτων πλείονα ἤνικα ἦν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετέστη καὶ ἀπεδήμησε, κατέλυσε τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἰσχύν, διήλεγξε τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάτην, ἀπεκάλυψε τῆς μαντείας τὸν λῆρον, συνέτριψε τὸ προσωπεῖον αὐτῆς, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν γυμνώσας ἐπέδειξε, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ δοκοῦντα κρατεῖν ἐπιστομίσας καὶ καταβαλὼν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος. Καὶ νῦν ἐστᾶσιν οἱ τοῖχοι τοῦ νεώ, πᾶσι κηρύττοντες τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν αἰσχύνην, τὸν γέλωτα τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ μάρτυρος τοὺς στεφάνους, τὴν νίκην, τὴν δύναμιν. Τοσαύτη ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἰσχὺς οὕτως ἄμαχος καὶ φοβερά, καὶ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ δαίμοσι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀρχηγῷ; Τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μόνο ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ συνανάρχῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

20. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 576.

Τότε καὶ φοβερότεραι λοιπὸν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε φωνὴν ἠφίεσαν ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ Ἰωάννου κεφαλὴ οὐχ οὕτω φοβερά ἦν φθεγγομένη, ὥς ἄφωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνακος κειμένη. Ἔχει γὰρ καὶ φωνὴν τῶν ἁγίων τὸ αἶμα, οὐ δι' ὧτων ἀκουομένην, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνειδότος τῶν ἀναιρούντων ἐπιλαμβανομένην.

21. Ibid., col. 576.

Τούτους ἄξιον καὶ στύλους, καὶ σκοπέλους, καὶ
 πύργους, καὶ φωστήρας, καὶ ταύρους ὁμοῦ πορσεῖπειν. Καὶ
 γὰρ ὡς στῦλοι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀνέχουσι, καὶ ὡς πύργοι
 τειχίζουσι, καὶ ὡς σκόπελοι πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλήν ἀποκρουό-
 μενοι, πολλὴν τοῖς ἔνδον ποιοῦσι γαλήνην καὶ ὡς φωστήρες
 τὸ σκότος ἀπήλασαν τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ ὡς ταῦροι ψυχῇ
 καὶ σώματι, ἴση τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τὸν χρηστὸν
 εἴλκυσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγόν.

22. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 640.

πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχουσι παρρησίαν οὐχὶ ζῶσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τελευτήσασαι ^{καὶ} πολλῶ μᾶλλον τελευτήσασαι. νῦν
 γὰρ τὰ στίγματα φέρουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ δὲ στίγματα
 ἐπιδεικνύμεναι ταῦτα, πάντα δύναται πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα.
 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοσαύτη ἡ δύναμις αὐταῖς καὶ ἡ φιλία πρὸς
 τὸν θεόν, τῇ συνεχεῖ προσεδρία καὶ τῇ διηνεκεῖ πρὸς
 αὐτὰς ἀφίξει καταστήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν,
 ἐπισπασόμεθα δι' αὐτῶν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν.

23. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 669, 670.

Λαβὼν γὰρ τινα δαιμονῶντα καὶ μαινόμενον εἰσάγαγε πρὸς
 τὸν ἅγιον τάφον ἐκεῖνον, ἔνθα τοῦ μάρτυρος τὰ λείψανα,
 καὶ ὅψει πάντως ἀποπηδῶντα καὶ φεύγοντα. Καθάπερ γὰρ
 ἀνθρώπων μέλλων ἐπιβαίνειν, οὕτως ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθέως
 ἐξάλλεται τῶν προθύρων, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν θήκην αὐτὴν
 ἀντιβλέψαι τολμῶν. Εἰ δὲ νῦν μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον,
 ὅτε κόνις ἐγένετο καὶ τέφρα οὐ τολμῶσιν ἀναβλέψαι πρὸς
 τὸ μνῆμα, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ γυμνά ὀστέα τοῦ ἁγίου, εὐδην
 ὅτι καὶ τότε, ὅτε ἑώρων αὐτὸν αἵματι φοινισσόμενον
 πάντοθεν, τραύμασιν ἀποστίλβοντα μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν ἥλιον
 ταῖς ἀκτῖσι, κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πληγέντες τὰς ὀψεις
 ἀνεχώρησαν. Εἶδες πῶς τῶν οὐρανίων ἀστέρων τὰ τῶν
 μαρτύρων τραύματα φαιδρότερα καὶ θαυμαστότερα, καὶ
 μείζονα ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν;

24. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 686.

Εἰ δὲ ἠπάτηντο, πῶς τὴν κόνιν αὐτῶν δεδοίκασιν οἱ
 δαίμονες; πῶς καὶ τοὺς τάφους φεύγουσιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ἐπειδὴ νεκροὺς φοβοῦνται δαίμονες, τοῦτο πάσχουσιν.

Ἰδοὺ γὰρ μυρίοι νεκροὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς, καὶ κείνοις μὲν προσεδρεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς, ἂν ἴδῃ τις δαιμονῶν-τας ἐν ἐρημίας διατρίβοντας καὶ τάφοις ἔνθα δὲ τῶν μαρτύρων ὅσα κατορώσκειται, ὥς ἀπὸ πυρός τινος καὶ κολάσεως ἀφορήτου φεύγουσι, τὴν ἑνδον μαστίζουσιν αὐτοὺς δυνάμιν μετὰ λαμπρᾶς ἀνακηρύττοντες φανῆς.

25. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 694.

ἀλλ' ἄνδρας πολλὴν ταῖς κληρωθείσας αὐτοῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν κεκτημένους ἀσφάλειαν, πῶς οὐ δίκαιον μάλιστα πασῶν ταύτης παρ' αὐτῶν τῆς προεδρίας τυχεῖν; Τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων σώματα τούτων τείχους παντός ἀδάμοντος καὶ ἄρραγους ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν καὶ καθάπερ σκόπελοί τινες ὑψηλοὶ πορβεβλημένοι πανταχόθεν, οὐχὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τούτων καὶ ὀρωμένων ἐχθρῶν προσβολὰς ἀποκρούονται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλὰς, καὶ πᾶσαν τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδεῖαν ἀνατρέπουσί τε καὶ διαλύουσιν οὕτως εὐκόλως, ὥς εἴ τις γενναῖος ἀνὴρ παίδων ἀθύρματα ἀνατρέψει καὶ καταβάλῃ.

26. Ibid., col. 694, 695.

τοιούτον τι ἀντιστῆσαι μηχανήματα ταῖς ἐχούσαις αὐτοὺς πόλεσιν οὐ δυνήσονται. Οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐπιβουλὰς μόνον, οὐδὲ πρὸς κακουργίας δαιμόνων τοῦτο ἡμῖν χρήσιμον τὸ κτῆμα, ἀγαπητέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῖν ὀργίζεται Δεσπότης διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, δυνησόμεθα ταῦτα προβαλλόμενοι τὰ σώματα, ταχέως αὐτὸν ἵλεων ποιῆσαι τῇ πόλει.

27. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. IV, PG 50, col. 490.

Πόθεν οὖν οὐ τοῦτον μόνον τὸν σταυρωθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσα τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σφαγέντων πεφρίκασε δαίμονες; τίνας δὲ ἕνεκεν καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκούοντες ἀποπηδῶσι; Καὶ μὴν καταγελαῖν ἔδει μὴ γὰρ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπίσημον ὁ σταυρός; Τούναντίον μὲν οὖν, αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον. Θάνατος γὰρ ἐστὶ καταδίκου θάνατός ἐστιν ὁ κακῶν ἔσχατος, καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπάρατος, καὶ παρὰ Ἑλλήσι βδελυκτός. Πόθεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεισαν δαίμονες; Ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σταυρωθέντος δυνάμεως;

Εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδεδοίκεισαν,
 μάλιστα μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀνάξιον θεῶν πλὴν πολλοὶ καὶ
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐσταυρώθησαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 δὲ δύο. Τί οὖν, εἰ εἰποὶ τις, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ληστοῦ
 τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος,
 φεύξεται ὁ δαίμων; Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελάσεται.
 Ἐὰν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσθῇς τὸν Ναζωραῖον, καθάπερ ἀπὸ
 πυρός τινος φεύγουσι. Τί οὖν ἂν εἴποις; πόθεν
 ἐκράτησεν; ὅτι πλάνος ἦν; Ἄλλ' οὐ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῦ τὰ
 παραγγέλματα ἄλλως δέ, καὶ πλάνοι πολλοὶ γενόμενοι.
 Ἄλλ' ὅτι μάγος; Ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ τὰ δόγματα καὶ
 μάγων πολλὴ πολλακίς ἐγένετο φορά. Ἄλλ' ὅτι σοφός;
 Ἄλλὰ σοφοὶ πολλοὶ πολλακίς ἐγένοντο. Τίς οὖν οὕτως
 ἐκράτησεν; Οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε, οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐγγύς.
 Ὅθεν δῆλον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπειδὴ μάγος ἦν, οὐδὲ ὅτι πλάνος
 ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τούτων διορθωτῆς, καὶ θεία δύνამις
 τις καὶ ἄμαχος, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς πάντων περιεγένετο,
 καὶ τῷ σκηνοποιῷ τούτῳ τοσαύτην ἐνέπνευσε δύναμιν,
 ὅσῃν αὐτὰ τὰ πρᾶγματα μαρτυρεῖ.

28. In Ascensionem D. N. Jesu Christi, PG 50, col. 441-443.
29. In SS. Petrum Et Heliam, PG 50, col. 725-726.
30. Contra Judaeos Et Gentiles, Quod Christus Sit Deus, PG 48, col. 833.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. In S. Phocam Martyrem, PG 50, col. 699-700.
34. Ad Populum Antiochenum Homilia VIII, PG 49, col. 99.
35. II Homilia, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrem, Etc., PG 63, col. 469.
36. Ibid., col. 469.
37. Ibid., col. 469.
38. Ibid., col. 469.
39. Ibid., col. 469, 470.
40. Ibid., col. 470.

41. Ibid., col. 470.

42. Ibid., col. 471-472.

43. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 595.

44. Ibid., col. 595.

Μὴ τοίνυν σήμερον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην
ἡμέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν βαδίζωμεν, πνευματικούς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
δρεπόμενοι καρπούς.

45. Ibid., col. 595.

Ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι τὸν μετὰ πίστεως ἐνταῦθα παραγινόμενον
μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι ἀγαθὰ οὐδὲ γάρ τὰ σώματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ θῆκαι τῶν ἁγίων πνευματικῆς εἰσι
πεπληρωμέναι χάριτος.

46. Ibid., col. 595.

Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἑλισσαίου τοῦτο συνέβαινε, καὶ θήκης νεκρὸς
ἀψάμενος τοῦ θανάτου τὰ δεσμὰ διέρρηξε (Δ. Βασ. ΙΒ,
21), καὶ πρὸς ζωὴν ἐπανῆλθε πάλιν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον νῦν,
ὅτε δαψιλεστέρα ἢ χάρις, ὅτε πλείων ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος
ἐνέργεια,

47. Ibid., col. 595.

ἔστι καὶ θήκης μετὰ πίστεως ἀψάμενον πολλὴν ἐκεῖθεν
ἐπισπάσασθαι δύναμιν.

48. Ibid., col. 595.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων εἶασεν ἡμῖν ὁ
Θεός, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις χειρα-
γωγῆσαι ζῆλον, καὶ λιμένα τινὰ παρασχεῖν καὶ παρα-
μύθιον ἀσφαλὲς τῶν ἀεὶ καταλαμβανόντων ἡμᾶς
κακῶν.

49. Ibid., col. 595, 596.

Διὸ παρακαλῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς, εἴτε ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ τίς ἐστιν,
εἴτε ἐν νόσοις, εἴτε ἐν ἐπηρείαις, εἴτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ
βιωτικῇ περιστάσει, εἴτε ἐν ἁμαρτιῶν βάθει, μετὰ πίστε-
ως ἐνταῦθα παραγινέσθω, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀποθήσεται,
καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπανήξει τῆς ἡθονῆς, κουφότερον τὸ
συνειδὸς ἐργασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας μόνης.

50. De S. Babylla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 552.

Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τις αὔρα λεπτή τοὺς ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ γενομένους περιπνεῖ πάντοθεν, αὔρα οὐκ αἰσθητή τις, οὐδὲ σωμάτων αὔξητική, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἱκανὴ διαδύναμις τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ καταστέλλουσα πάντοθεν αὐτὴν εὐσχημόνως, καὶ πᾶν γήϊνον περικόπτουσα βάρος, ἀναπαύει τε καὶ κουφοτέραν ἐργάζεται τὴν βεβαρημένην καὶ καταπίπτουσαν.

51. In S. Ignatium Martyrem, PG 50, col. 596.

μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἐν δεινοῖς ὄντας μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ τις ἢ καὶ ἐν δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν δυναστείᾳ, καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ πολλῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, μηδὲ οὗτος καταφρονεῖτω τῆς ὠφελείας.

52. Ibid., col. 596.

Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἰδὼν τοῦτον, ἀκίνητα ἔξει τὰ κατὰ, τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν τούτου κατορθωμάτων μετριάξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀναπείσας, καὶ οὐκ ἀφιεῖς τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπαρθῆναι τινα.

53. Ibid., col. 596.

Ὅστε ἅπασαι χρήσιμος ὁ θησαυρός, ἐπιτήδειον τὸ κατὰ γόγιον, τοῖς μὲν ἐπταικόσιν, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῶν πειρασμῶν, τοῖς δὲ εὐήμεροῦσιν, ἵνα βέβαια αὐτοῖς μείνη τὰ κατὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀρρώστια ἵνα πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπανέλθωσι, τοῖς δὲ ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀρρώστιαν καταπέσωσιν.

54. De S. Babylla, Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 550-551.

Καίτοι γε ἐνῆν καὶ μετατεθῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Ἐνώχ, καὶ ἀρπαγῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ἥλιαν, οὓς ἐξήλωσεν ἄλλ' ὁ Θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὢν, καὶ μυρίας ἡμῖν τοῦ σώζεσθαι προφάσεις διδούς, καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διέτεμεν ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἱκανὴν παρακαλέσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν, τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα παρ' ἡμῖν τέως ἀφείς. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν, δευτέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τάφοι, πρὸς τὸ διεγείρειν εἰς τὸν ἴσον ζῆλον τὰς τῶν θεωμένων αὐτοὺς ψυχάς.

55. Ibid., col. 551.

καὶ εἴ ποῦ τις ἐπιστῇ θήκη τοιαύτη, καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας εὐθέως ταύτης σαφῇ λαμβάνει τὴν αἴσθησιν. Ἡ γὰρ ὄψις τῆς λάρνακος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμπίπτουσα καταπλήττει τε αὐτὴν καὶ διανίστηται, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κειμένου συνευχομένου, καὶ παρεστῶτος, καὶ ὀρωμένου, οὕτως αὐτὴν διακεῖσθαι ποιεῖ. Εἴτα προθυμίας πολλῆς ὁ τοῦτο παθὼν πληρωθεὶς, καὶ ἕτερος ἀνθ' ἑτέρου γεγόμενος, οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέρχεται. Μάθοι δ' ἂν τις καλῶς, ὡς ἡ φαντασία τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐγγίνεται ταῖς τῶν ζώντων ψυχαῖς...

56. Ibid., col. 551.

εἰς νοῦν τοὺς πενθοῦντας λαβὼν, οἱ ἅμα τε τοῖς τῶν τεθνηκότων τάφοις ἐφίστανται, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντὶ τῆς θήκης τοὺς ἐν τῇ θήκῃ κειμένους ἐστῶτας ἰδόντες, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προθύρων εὐθέως ἀνακαλοῦσι. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφορήτως πρὸς τὰ πάθη διατεθέντων, παρὰ τοῖς μνήμασι τῶν ἀπελθόντων τὸν ἅπαντα κατῴκισαν ἑαυτοὺς χρόνον, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, εἰ μὴ τινα παραμυθίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων ἐλάβανον ὅψεως. Καὶ τί λέγω τόπον καὶ τάφον; καὶ γὰρ ἱμάτιον μόνον πολλάκις τῶν ἀπελθόντων ὀφθέν, καὶ ῥῆμα εἰς διάνοιαν ἐλθόν, διήγειρε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀνέστησε διαπίπτουσαν. Διὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων ἀφήκεν ὁ θεός.

57. Ibid., col. 551.

Καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς κομπάζων ταῦτα λέγω νῦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦτο γεγένηται, ἵκανά μὲν τὸν λόγον πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων γινόμενα θαύματα, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὕτως ἐπιτρεχόντων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ ἥττον δὲ ἐκείνων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου κατορθώματα τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν.

58. Ibid., col. 553.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ φροντίδας βιωτικὰς, οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰς τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων θήκας ἀπαντᾶν, ὥκονόμησεν ὁ θεός τούτῳ σαγηνεύεσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ, καὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

59. Ibid., col. 552.

Ἄμα τε γὰρ ἐφίσταται τις τῇ Δάφνῃ, καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προαστείου προθύρων ἰδὼν, συστέλλεται, καθάπερ τις νέος ἐν συμποσίῳ παιδαγωγὸν θεασάμενος ἐφεστῶτα καὶ παρακελευόμενον διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἐν τάξει τῇ προσηκούσῃ πίνειν τε καὶ ἐσθίειν, καὶ φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ γελᾶν, φυλαττόμενον μή που τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβάς τὴν δόξαν αἰσχύνῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

60. Ibid., col. 552.

... γενόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως εὐλαβέστερος, καὶ τὸν μακάριον φαντασθεὶς, πρὸς τὴν λάρνακα εὐθέως ἐπείγεται, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖ...

61. Ibid., col. 552.

μείζονά τε προσλαμβάνει φόβον, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλιγωρίαν ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ γενόμενος πτηνός, οὕτως ἅπεισι.

62. Ibid., col. 552.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνιόντας δεχόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, μετὰ τοιαύτης σωφροσύνης παραπέμπει πρὸς τὴν τῆς Δάφνης ἀνάπαυσιν...

63. Ibid., col. 552.

64. Ibid., col. 553.

μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικέστεροι διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκεῖσε ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνων ἐλάττους δι' ἄμφοτερά, οἱ δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἀτελέστερον διακείμενοι διὰ μόνην μὲν ἀναβαίνουσι τὴν τρυφήν ἐπειδὴν δὲ παραγένωνται, καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἐστιάσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθοπλίσας καλῶς, οὐδὲν ἀφίησι δεινὸν παθεῖν καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοίως θαυμαστὸν τὸ ἐκεῖ γινόμενον, σωφρονῆσαί τινα τῶν ἄβρῶν καὶ ῥαθύμων, καὶ οἷον ἐκ μέσης μανίας ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἢ εἰς κάμινον ἐμπεσόντα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παθεῖν.

65. Ibid., col. 553.

Τῆς τε γὰρ νεότητος, καὶ τῆς τόλμης τῆς ἀλόγου, καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ τῆς κληρονομικῆς φλογὸς χαλεμώτερον περιίισταμένων τοὺς λογισμούς, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου δρόσος διὰ τῶν ὄψεων, εἰς τὴν τῶν δρώντων καταβαίνουσα ψυχὴν, τὴν τε φλόγα ἐκοίμησε, καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμόν ἐστήσε,

καὶ πολλήν τῆς διανοίας κατέσταξε τὴν εὐλάβειαν.

66. Ibid., col. 553.

Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας τὴν τυραννίδα οὕτως ὁ μακάριος κατέλυσε, πῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν δύναμιν ἔσβεσε;

67. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 576.

Συνεχῶς τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωριάζωμεν, καὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἀπτόμεθα, καὶ μετὰ πίστεως τοῖς λειψάνοις αὐτῶν περιπλεκόμεθα, ἵνα εὐλογίαν τινὰ ἐπισπασώμεθα ἐκεῖθεν.

68. Ibid., col. 576.

Καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται τραύματα ἐπιδείξαντες, ἅπερ ἔκ τῶν πολεμίων ἔλαβον, μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλέγονται οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃς ἀπετμήθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν βαστάζοντες, καὶ εἰς μέσον παράγοντες, εὐκόλως ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἂν θέλωσι, παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνύειν δύνανται.

69. Ibid., col. 576-578.

Μετὰ πολλῆς τοίνυν τῆς πίστεως, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς προθυμίας ἐκεῖ βαδίζωμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥσεως τῶν ἁγίων τούτων μνημάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐννοίας τῶν ἀθλῶν, καὶ πανταχόθεν πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους λαβόντες θησαυροὺς, καὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον δυνηθῶμεν κατὰ τὸ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν διανύσαι, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐμπορίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον καταπλεῦσαι τὸν λιμένα, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν.

70. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 640.

Τάχα πολὺς ὑμῖν ἐγένετο πόθος τῶν ἁγίων ἐκεῖνων μετὰ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πυρὸς προσπέσωμεν αὐτῶν τοῖς λειψάνοις συμπλακῶμεν αὐτῶν ταῖς θήκαις δύναται γὰρ καὶ θῆκαι μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ὁσὰ τῶν μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν. Καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐορτῆς ταύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις ἡμέραις προσεδρεύωμεν αὐταῖς, παρακαλῶμεν αὐτάς, ἀξιῶμεν γενέσθαι προστάτιδας ἡμῶν.

70a. II Epist. II Ad Cor. Homil. XXVI, PG 61, col. 581-584. See also NPNF, pp. 402-403 for the translation.

70b. In Epist. I Ad Thessal. Cap. V., Homil. XI,
 PG 62, col. 466. See also NPNF, pp. 373-
 374 for the translation.

Notes:

* μαρτυρίοις See Bingham, Viii. 8, who quotes
Eusebius Vit. Const. iii. 48, informing that
 Constantine built several in Constantinople.
 See also on Stat. Homil. i.

* - i.e. houses of prayer. An adaption of a
 Jewish custom, as in Acts xvi 13 (Rev. Ver.)
 and 16, J.A.B.).

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 μαρτυρίοις προκάθηνται τῶν προφυλαίων οἱ πένητες,
 ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς τούτων θεᾶς πολλὴν δέχεσθαι τὴν
 ὠφέλειαν. Ἐννόησον γὰρ ὅτι εἰς μὲν βασιλεία τὰ ἐπὶ
 γῆς εἰσερχομένων ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἀλλὰ
 ἄνδρες καὶ δεμνοὶ, καὶ λαμπροὶ, καὶ πλουτοῦντες, καὶ
 συνετοί, πανταχοῦ διατρέχουσιν εἰς δὲ τὰ ὄντως βασι-
 λεία, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λέγω, καὶ τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους
 τῶν μαρτύρων, δαιμονῶντες, ἀνάπηροι, πένητες, γέροντες
 τυφλοὶ, διεστραμμένοι τὰ μέλη. Τί δήποτε; Ἵνα σὺ
 παιδεύῃ διὰ τῆς τούτων θεᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα, εἴ τινα
 τύφον ἔξωθεν ἐπισυρόμενος εἰσέλθῃς, εἰς ἐκείνους
 βλέψας, καὶ ἀποθέμενος τὸν ὄγκον, καὶ συντρίψας τὴν
 καρδίαν, οὕτως εἰσέλθῃς, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀκούσῃς
 (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ μετὰ τύφου προσευχόμενον ἀκούεσθαι)
 ἵν', ὅταν γέροντα ἴδῃς, μὴ ἐπὶ νεότητι μέγα φρονῇς καὶ
 γὰρ οὗτοι οἱ γέροντες νέοι ἐγένοντο ἵν' ὅταν ἐπὶ στρα-
 τεία καὶ δυναστείᾳ βασιλικῇ μέγα κομπάζῃς, ἐννοήσῃς
 ὅτι ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ λαμπροὶ γενομένοι ἐν ταῖς
 βασιλικαῖς αὐλαῖς ἵν', ὅταν ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ σώματος θαρρῆς,
 τούτοις προσέχων καταστείλῃς σου τὸ φρόνημα.
 Καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα συνεχῶς εἰσιῶν, ὁ μὲν ὑγιαίνων οὐ μέγα
 φρονήσει ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ σώματος ὁ δὲ κάμνων, λήψεται παρα-
 μυθίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν. Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐνταῦθα
 παρακάθηνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὲ καὶ ἐλεήμονα ποιήσωσι, καὶ
 πρὸς ἔλεον ἐπικαμφθῇς, ἵνα θαυμάσῃς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν φιλαν-
 θρωπίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ'
 ἐν τοῖς κορυφαίοις αὐτοῦ ἔστησε, πολλῶ μᾶλλον σὺ ἵνα
 μὴ μέγα φρονῇς ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

71. In S. Lucianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 522.
Cf. also Ibid., col. 522: MT 10:41.

72. Ibid., col. 522.

ὑποδοχή δὲ μάρτυρος τὸ συνελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου
μνήμην, τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς διηγήσεως τῶν ἁθλῶν, τὸ
θαυμάσαι τὰ γεμενημένα, τὸ ζηλῶσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὸ εἰς
ἐτέρους ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας τὰς ἐκείνου ταῦτα
τῶν μαρτύρων τὰ ξένα οὕτω τοὺς ἁγίους τούτους τις
ὑποδέχεται, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς σήμερον πεποιήκατε.

73. In S. Eustathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 600.

Μνήματα γὰρ ἁγίων οὐ σοροὶ, καὶ λάρνακες, καὶ
στήλαι, καὶ γράμματα, ἀλλ' ἔργων κατορθώματα, καὶ
πίστεως ζῆλος, καὶ συνειδὸς πρὸς θεὸν ὑγιές.

74. Ibid., col. 600.

καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τῶν παρόντων τοῦ ἁγίου τάφος ἐστὶν
ἐκείνου, τάφος ἔμψυχος καὶ πνευματικός.

75. Ibid., col. 600.

Ἄν γὰρ ἀναπτύξω τὸ συνειδὸς ἑκάστου τῶν παρόντων
ὑμῶν, εὐρίσκω τὸν ἅγιον τοῦτον ἔνδον τῆς διανοίας
ὑμῶν ἐνδiciαιτῶμενον.

76. Ibid., col. 600.

Ὅρατε πῶς οὐδὲν πλέον ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς; πῶς οὐκ
ἔσβεσαν τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἐπῆραν ταύτην μᾶλλον καὶ
λαμπρότεραν εἰργάσαντο, τοσοῦτος ποιήσαντες τάφους
ἀνθ' ἑνός, τάφους ἔμψυχους, τάφους φωνὴν ἀφιέντας,
τάφους πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον παρασκευαζομένους;

77. Ibid., col. 600.

78. Ibid., col. 600.

Ὅτι ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν
οὐ παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέχει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ
διαπέμπεται μήκους.

79. Ibid., col. 600, 601.

οἷόν τι λέγω, αἱ πηγαὶ ἀναβλύζουσι μὲν πολλὰ νάματα, οὐ μὴν εἴσω τῶν οἰκείων κόλπων ταῦτα κατέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μακροὺς τίκτουςαι ποταμοὺς συγγίνονται τῷ πελάγει, καὶ καθάπερ χειρὸς τινος ἐκτάσει, τῷ μήκει τούτων ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῶν θαλατίων ὑδάτων. Πάλιν ἡ ῥίζα τῶν φυτῶν κέκρυπται ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ κάτω κατέχει τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῆς ἅπασαν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀμπέλων τῶν ἀναδενδράδων, αὕτη ἡ φύσις. Ὅταν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν τῶν καλῶν τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκτείνωσι κλάδους, τὰ κλήματα διὰ τῶν δονάκων ἐκείνων ἔρποντα μέχρι πολλοῦ πρόεισι διαστήματος, μακρὰν τινα ὁροφὴν τῇ τῶν φύλλων ποιῶντα πυκνότητι. Τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν μύρων ἡ φύσις αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ κεῖται ἐν οἰκίσκῳ πολλακίς, διὰ δὲ τῶν θυρίδων ὑπερεκκίπτουσα αὐτῶν ἡ εὐωδία εἰς ἄμφοδα καὶ στενωποὺς καὶ ἀγοράς, καὶ τοὺς ἔξω βαδίζοντας διδάσκει τὴν ἔνδον κειμένην τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἀρετὴν. Εἰ δὲ πηγὴ, καὶ ῥίζα, καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀρωμάτων φύσις τοσαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχύν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀγίων τὰ σώματα καὶ ὅτι οὐ ψευδῇ τὰ λεγόμενα, μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος κεῖται ἐν θράκῃ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐν θράκῃ διατρίβοντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἀφεστηκότες ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε τῆς εὐωδίας ἐκ τοσούτου διαστήματος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνεληλύθατε, καὶ οὐ διεκάλυψε τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ μῆκος, οὐκ ἔσβεσε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πλῆθος. Τοιαύτη γὰρ τῶν πνευματικῶν κατορθωμάτων ἡ φύσις, οὐδενὶ σωματικῷ διακόπτεται κωλύματι, ἀλλ' ἀνθεῖ καὶ αὖξεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, καὶ οὔτε χρόνου μαραίνει τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὴν, οὐχ ὁδοῦ διατειχίζει μῆκος.

80. Homilia In Martyres, PG 50, col. 664.

Ἦλθες ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπους ξεομένους αἵματι περιρρέομένους, τραυμάτων χορῶ καλλωπιζομένους, τὴν παροῦσαν ἀποδυσασμένους ζωὴν, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἵπταμένους.

82. Ibid., col. 664.

Ἀλλὰ βούλει τρυφᾶν παράμενε τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ μάρτυρος, ἔκχεε πηγὰς, δακρύων ἐκεῖ σύντριψον τὴν διάνοιαν, ἄρον εὐλογίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου καβὼν αὐτὴν συνήγορον ἐν ταῖς

εὐχαῖς, ἐνδιότριβε ἀεὶ τοῖς διηγήμασι τῶν παλαισμάτων
ἐκείνου περιπλάκῃ τὴν σορόν, προσηλώθητι τῇ λάρνακι
οὐχὶ τὰ ὅσα μόνον τῶν μαρτύρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τάφει
αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ λάρνακες πολλὴν βρύουσιν εὐλογίαν.

82. Ibid., col. 664, 665,

Λάβε ἔλαιον ἅγιον, καὶ κατάχρισόν σου ὅλον τὸ σῶμα,
τὴν γλῶτταν, τὰ χεῖλη, τὸν τράχηλον, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐμπεσῇ εἰς τὸ ναυάγιον τῆς μέθης. Τὸ γὰρ
ἔλαιον διὰ τῆς εὐωδίας ἀναμιμνήσκει σε τῶν ἁθλῶν τῶν
μαρτύρων, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκαλασίαν χαλινοῖ, καὶ κατέχει
ἐν πολλῇ καρτερίᾳ, καὶ περαγίνεται τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς
νοσημάτων.

83. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 681.

Αὕτη ἡ εὐωδία ἐκείνης βελτίων καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα
ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἀπάγει τοὺς κεχρημένους
αὐτῇ, αὕτη δὲ ἐπὶ βραβεῖα καὶ στεφάνους τοὺς ἄνω.

84. Ibid., col. 681, 682.

Ταῦτά μοι καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας, καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας εἴρηται
κοινὸν γὰρ τὸ στάδιον οὐ διήρηται τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ
Χριστοῦ διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ σύλλογος...
οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας ἀγωνιοταί, οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας
τοῦ διαβόλου, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος νευρᾶς τῆς γλώττης τὰ
ῥήματα ἀφιασιν εὐστόχως καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ βέλη πετόμενα
διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος, εἰς τὰς ἀοράτους τῶν δαιμόνων ἐμπίπτοντα
φάλαγγας, πᾶσαν αὐτῶν συνταράττει τὴν παράταξιν.

85. Ibid., col. 681.

Καὶ ἵνα μάθης, ὅτι πονηρὸν ἡ τρυφή, καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφή,
καὶ μέθη, καὶ οἶνος ἀμετρίαν ἔχων, καὶ πολητελῆς τράπε-
ζα, ἄκουσον τί φησιν ὁ προφήτης, "Οὐαὶ οἱ καθεύδοντες
ἐπὶ κλινῶν ἐλεφαντίνων, καὶ κατασπαταλῶντες ἐπὶ ταῖς
στρωματῖς αὐτῶν οἱ ἐσθίοντες ἐρίφους ἐκ ποιμνίων, καὶ
μοσχάρια ἐκ βουκολίων γαλαθηνὰ οἱ πίνοντες τὸν διυλισ-
μένον οἶνον, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι" (Ἀμώς 6,
4-6). Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ταῦτα ἀπηγόρευτο,
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς χάριτος, ἔνθα πλείων ἡ φιλοσοφία.

86. Homilia In Martyres, PG 50, col. 665.

Ἦλθες ἐνταῦθα, οὐχ ἵνα εἰς ῥαστώνην δώσης σεαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθης ἀγωνίζεσθαι παγκρατιάσειν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὢν τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων συγκόπτειν τὴν ἰσχύν.

87. Ibid., col. 665.

Μὴ τοίνυν καὶ σὺ ψυχῆς ἀνδρείαν καὶ γνώμης εὐτονίαν ἐλθὼν θεάσασθαι, καὶ τρόπαιον καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον, καὶ μάχην τινὰ ἐξηλλαγμένην, καὶ τραύματα καὶ πολέμους καὶ παγκράτιον ἀνθρώπου...

88. Ibid., col. 665.

Πράξεις δαιμονικὰς εἰσαγάγης, μετὰ τὴν ξένην καὶ φρικτὴν ταύτην θεωρίαν μέθη καὶ τρυφῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδούς, ἀλλὰ τὰ κέρδη τῆς ψυχῆς συναγαγὼν, οὕτως οἶκαδε ἄπιθι, διὰ τῆς ὁψως πᾶσιν ἐνδεικνυμενος, ὅτι μάρτυρας θεωρήσας ἀνεχώρησας.

89. De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col. 648.

τὸν τάφον μόνον ἰδόντες τῶν ἁγίων, πολλὰς ἐξεχέετε δακρύων πηγὰς, καὶ διεθερμάνθητε ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς. Καίτοι γε ἄφωνος ὁ μάρτυς κεῖται ἐν κολλῇ τῇ σιγῇ. Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ κεντοῦν τὸ συνειδός, καὶ ποιοῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀναβλύζειν τοὺς τῶν δακρύων κρουνοὺς; Αὕτῃ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἡ φαντασία, καὶ τῶν κατορθωθέντων πάντων ἡ μνήμη.

90. Ibid., col. 648, 649.

οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴν ἀναμνησθῶμεν τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων παρρησίας, ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Θεόν, καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος καὶ τῆς δόξης, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀναμνησθῶμεν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀκριβέστερον τὴν ἑαυτῶν πενίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων εὐπορίας καπιδόντες ἀλγοῦμεν, καὶ ὀδυνώμεθα, καταμανθάνοντες ὅσον αὐτῶν ἀπολιμπανόμεθα καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν τὰ δάκρυα.

91. Ibid., col. 649.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὰ σώματα ἀφῆκεν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Θεός, ἵνα ὅταν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄχλος καὶ φροντίδων πλήθος βιωτικῶν σκότος πολὺ τῆς διανοίας κατασκεδάσῃ τῆς

ἡμετέρας, ἢ ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶν ἢ ἐκ δημοσίων πραγμάτων (πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα), τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφέντες, τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθόντες, πολλὰ χαίρειν τοῖς θορύβοις τούτοις εἰπόντες, ἀναχωρήσωμεν εἰς μαρτύριον, ἀπολαύσωμεν τῆς αὔρας ἐκείνης τῆς πνευματικῆς, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς πολλῆς σχολῆς, ἐντρυφήσωμεν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ, συγγενώμεθα τοῖς ἁγίοις, παρακαλέσωμεν αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, πολλὰς ἱκετηρίας ἐκχέωμεν, διὰ τούτων πάντων ἀποθέμενοι τὸ βάρος τοῦ συνειδότος, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ψυχαγωγίας οἴκαδε πάλιν ἐπανέλθωμεν.

92. Ibid., col. 649.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων θησαυροὶ πολλοὺς παρέχουσι κινδύνους τοῖς εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ μέρη διαιρεθέντες, ἐλάττους γίνονται τῇ διανομῇ ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀκίνδυνος μὲν ἡ εὕρεσις, ἀμειώτος δὲ ἡ διαίρεσις, ἀπεναντίας τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς θησαυροῖς. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὥς ἔφθην εἰπὼν, κατακερματισθέντες ἐλάττους γίνονται, οὗτοι δὲ ὅταν εἰς πολλοὺς διαιρεθῶσι, τότε μᾶλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνδείκνυνται εὐπορίαν. Τοιαύτη γὰρ τῶν πνευματικῶν πραγμάτων ἡ φύσις αὐξεται τῇ διανομῇ, καὶ πλείων γίνεται τῇ διαιρέσει.

93. Ibid., col. 649.

Μαρτύρων θῆκαι οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ἢ λιμένες ἀσφαλεῖς, καὶ πηγαὶ ναμάτων πνευματικῶν, καὶ θησαυροὶ περιουσίας ἀνάλωτοι, μηδέποτε ἐλεγχόμενοι. Καὶ καθάπερ οἱ λιμένες ὑποδεχόμενοι τὰ πλοῖα πολλοῖς κύμασι περιαντληθέντα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καθιστῶσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων αἱ θῆκαι ὑποδεξάμεναι τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς βιωτικοῖς πράγμασι περιαντλουμένας ἐν πολλῇ καθιστῶσι γαλήνῃ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ ὥσπερ αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ψυχρῶν ναμάτων τὰ πεπονηκότα καὶ καταφλεχθέντα ἀνακτῶνται σώματα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων παθῶν κατακαυθείσας ψυχὰς καταψύχουσι, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἄτοπον, καὶ φθόνον τήκοντα, καὶ θυμὸν ζέοντα, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον διενochλήσειεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψως μόνης κατασβέννυσι, καὶ θησαυρῶν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς

τῆς περιουσίας βελτίους εἰσίν.

94. Ibid., col. 649, 650.

... ὡς μαρτύρων τάφοι, ἀμάραντόν τινα καὶ ἀκατάλυτον ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεχόμενοι τῶν θεωμένων τὴν ἡδονήν. Ἀψώμεθα τοίνυν τῶν θηκῶν ἐκείνων μετὰ πίστεως, διαθερμανθῶμεν τὴν διάνοιαν, κινήσωμεν ὄδυρμούς. Πολλὰ ἡμῖν ἡμάρτηται καὶ μεγάλα ἁμαρτήματα διὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς δεόμεθα τῆς θεραπείας, σφοδρᾶς τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως. Ἐρρέυσαν οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες αἷμα, ῥευσάτωσάν σοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ δάκρυα δύνανται καὶ δάκρυα πυρὰν ἁμαρτημάτων κατασβέσαι κατεξάνθησαν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς πλευράς, δημίους εἶδον περιεστῶτας τοῦτο καὶ σὺ ποιήσον ἐπὶ τῷ συνειδότη καθίσον τὸν λογισμόν δικάζοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀδεκάστου διανοίας, παράγαγε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σοι πάντα εἰς μέσον, φοβεροὺς ἐπίστησον τοῖς πλημμελήμασι λογισμούς, κόλασον τὰς ἀτόπους ἐνθυμήσεις, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα γέγονε, μετὰ πολλῆς καταξαινέσθω τῆς σφοδρότητος. Ἐάν οὕτω μελετήσωμεν δικάζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ φευξόμεθα τὸ φοβερόν ἐκεῖνο κριτήριον.

95. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 673.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ σωματικῆς θέλεις τραπέζης μετασχεῖν; ἐνταῦθα ἔξεστι μετὰ τὸ λυθῆναι τὸν σύλλογον, τοῦ μαρτυρίου πλησίον ὑπὸ συκῇν καὶ ἄμπελον καταλύσαντι, καὶ τῷ σώματι χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἄνεσιν, καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἀπαλλάξαι καταγνώσεως. Ὁ γὰρ μάρτυς ἐγγύθεν ὀρώμενος καὶ πλησίον ὢν καὶ παρεστηκώς αὐτῇ τῇ τραπέζῃ, οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἰς ἁμαρτίαν ἐκχυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις παιδαγωγός, ἢ πατὴρ ἄριστος τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ὀρώμενος ὀφθαλμοῖς καταστέλλει τὸν γέλωτα, περικόπτει τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς ἀτόπους, τὰ σκιρτήματα τῆς σαρκὸς ἅπαντα ἀναιρεῖ, ἅπερ ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν.

96. In Matthaeum Homil. XXXVII al. XXXVIII, PG 57, col. 428.

Εἰ γὰρ βούλει ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, βάδιζε εἰς παραδείσους, ἐπὶ παραρρέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ λίμνας κατάμαθε κήπους, ἀκουσε τεττίγων ᾄδόντων, ἐπιχωρίαζε σηκοῖς μαρτύρων,

ἔπου σώματος ὑγεία καὶ ψυχῆς ὠφέλεια καὶ βλάβος οὐ-
δὲν οὐδὲ μετάνοια μετὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, καθάπερ
ἐνταῦθα.

97. In S. Julianum Martýrem, PG 50, col. 674.

Εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα λάβωμεν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται γὰρ ἐλθεῖν καὶ σῶσαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς.
Ἐπιστήσωμεν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνων ὀφθαλμοῖς, φοβηθῶσι
παρόντα, αἰδεσθῶσι παρακαλοῦντα καὶ δεόμενον οὐ γὰρ
αἰσχύνεται καὶ παρακαλέσαι. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Δεσπότης αὐτοῦ
παρακαλεῖ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν...

98. Ibid., col. 674.

99. Ibid., col. 674.

πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ δοῦλος τοῦτο ποιήσει ἐν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ
μόνον, ἢ ἀπώλεια ἢ ἡμετέρα ἐν εὐφραίνει, ἢ σωτηρία
ἢ ἡμετέρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ παραιτήσεται οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι.

100. Ibid., col. 674, 675.

101. Ibid., col. 675, 676.

... αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξεται Δεσπότης.
... ἀλλὰ τοῦ καιροῦ παρελθόντος πολλὴν εἴσεται σοι
κἀκεῖνος τὴν χάριν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπαινέσουσιν
ὑμᾶς, καὶ θαυμάσουσι...
... καὶ ὁ πάντων μετίζων ἐστίν, ὁ τῶν οὐρανῶν
Δεσπότης πολλοὺς ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων παρασχέσει τοὺς
μισθοὺς, καὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον
πλεονάσει.

102. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 680, 681.

Διὰ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς καὶ παρὰ τὰς θήκας τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων
ἡγάγομεν, ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως λάβητέ τινα παράκλησιν
ἀρετῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαποδύσηθε ζῆλον. Καὶ
γὰρ στρατιώτην ἀνίστησι μὲν καὶ ἀκοή ἀριστέως πολλῷ
δὲ πλεόν ὄψις καὶ θεωρία, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν εἰς αὐτὴν
τοῦ ἀριστέως τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσελθὼν ἴδῃ τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγ-
μένον, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πολεμίου κειμένην, τὰ λάφυρα
ἄνω κρεμάμενα, τὸ αἷμα νεαρὸν τῶν χειρῶν ἀποστάζον
παρὰ τοῦ τὸ πρόπαιον στήσαντος, πανταχοῦ δόρατα καὶ

ἀσπίδας καὶ τόξα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν παντευχίαν
κειμένην.

103. Ibid., col. 681.

Σκηνὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ στρατιωτικὴ τῶν μαρτύρων ὁ τάφος καὶ
ἀνοιξῆς τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμούς, ὅψει τὸν θώρακα τῆς
δικαιοσύνης ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως,
τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου, τὴν κνημίδα τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου, τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, αὐτὴν τοῦ
διαβόλου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπερρίμενην χαμαί.

104. Ibid., col. 681.

Ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν παράκειται ταῦτα τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ στρατιώταις, καὶ καθάπερ τοὺς ἀριστεὰς μετὰ
τῶν ὅπλων θάπτουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς
ἐποίησε, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοὺς ἔθαψεν, ἵνα καὶ
πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως δείξῃ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν
δύναμιν τῶν ἁγίων.

105. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 683-685.

... ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἔξοδος τούτους ἔχει τινὰ
καὶ ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ κέρδος τῆς ψυχαγωγίας οὐκ ἔλαττον,
οὐκ ἐπειδὴ καθαρὸν τὸν ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ
πρὸς τὰ τῶν γενναίων τούτων κατορθώματα βλέπομεν οὐ
παρὰ ποταμούς ὑδάτων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ποταμούς χαρισμάτων
σκιρτῶντες οὐ κατακύντοντες, καὶ πόαν κείροντες τοῖς
ὁδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων ἀρετὰς ἀναλεγόμενοι οὐχὶ γῆν
ὀρῶντες· καλλωπιζομένην ἀνθεσιν, ἀλλὰ σώματα βλέποντες
χαρίσμασι βρύοντα πνευματικοῖς. Ἐκαστον μὲν οὖν τῶν
μαρτυρίων παρέχει τοῖς συλλεγομένοις κέρδος οὐ μικρὸν,
μάλιστα δὲ ἀπάντων τούτου ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἐπέβη τις τῶν
προθύρων, καὶ πληθὸς εὐθέως τάφων πανταχόθεν προσ-
πίπτει τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ ὅπου περ ἂν ἴδῃ, λάρνακας
καὶ μνήματα καὶ θήκας ὁρᾷ τῶν κατοικομένων. Οὐ μικρὸν
δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς φιλοσοφίας μέρος αὕτη συντελεῖ τῶν τάφων ἡ
θεωρία. Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς ὁψews ταύτης, καὶ ῥάθυμος
ᾗ, ταχέως συστέλλεται, καὶ σπουδαία καὶ διεγρηγεμένη,
σπουδαιοτέρα γίνεται καὶ ἀποδύρηταί τις πενίαν, ἀπὸ
τῆς ὁψews ταύτης εὐθέως παραμυθίαν δέχεται, καὶ ἐπὶ
πλούτῳ μέγα φρονῇ, ταπεινοῦται. καὶ καταστέλλεται.

Ἡ γὰρ τῶν τάφων ὅψις ἕκαστον τῶν ὁρώντων τὰ περὶ τῆς
τελευτῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄκοντα φιλοσοφεῖν ἀναγκάζει,
καὶ πείθει μηδὲν τῶν παρόντων νομίζειν εἶναι βέβαιον,
μὴ λυπηρόν, μὴ χρηστόν ὃ δὲ ταῦτα πεισθεὶς οὐ ῥαδίως
ἁλώσεται τῇ τῆς ἁμαρτίας παγίδι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σοφός
τις παραινεῖ λέγων, "Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις σου
μιμνήσκου τὰ ἔσχατά σου, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μὴ ἁμαρτίας"
(Σ. Σερ. 7,36), καὶ ἕτερος δὲ τις συνῶδὰ τούτῳ φθέγγεται
συμβουλευὼν οὕτως, "Ἐτοιμάζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα
σου, καὶ παρασκευάζου πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν" (Παρ. 24,27), οὐ περὶ
τῆς αἰσθητῆς ὁδοῦ διαλεγόμενος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημίας.
Ἄν γὰρ διηνεκῶς καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὸ τῆς τελευτῆς προβλέπωμεν
ἄδηλον, οὐ ταχέως ἁμαρτησόμεθα οὔτε γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῦ
βίου φυῶσαι, οὔτε τὰ λυπηρὰ καθελεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ
θορυβῆσαι δυνήσεται ἄδηλον ἑκάτερα τὸ τέλος ἔχοντα.
Καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις ὃ σήμερον ζῶν οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας
μένει. Ἐνδον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνδιατρίβοντας
οὐ σφόδρα εἰκὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν
ἐξελθόντας ἔξω τειχῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάφους τούτους
ἐλθόντας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοικομένων θεασαμένους,
ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἐκόντας καὶ ἄκοντας τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς
ὄψεως δέξασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ δεξαμένους
ὑψηλοτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ βιωτικὰ πράγ-
ματα συμπαθείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Οὐ μόνον δὲ λογισμοὺς
τοιούτους δεξόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ἡμῶν
πατρίδα σπεύδειν καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀρκούσαν παρά-
κλησιν ἔξομεν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ
τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν, εἰδότες ὅπερ ἂν ἐνταῦθα τῶν
ἡμετέρων καταλίπωμεν, ζημίαν ἡμῖν οἴσιν καταλειφθέν.
Καθάπερ γὰρ ὁδοιπόρος μακρὰν ὁδεύων ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν
πατρίδα ἐπειγόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὅπερ ἂν ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ
καταλίπη, πάντως ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ἐζημιώται οὕτω δὲ καὶ
ἡμεῖς ὅσα ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀφέντες ἀπέλθωμεν,
ἐζημιώμεθα πάντα διὸ χρή τὰ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, τὰ δὲ
πρὸ ἑαυτῶν παραπέμπειν ἐκεῖ. Ὁδὸς γὰρ ὃ παρὼν βίος
ἐστί, καὶ οὐδὲν στάσιμον ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ χρηστὰ παροδεύομεν. Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα
πάντων τουτὶ φιλῶ τὸ χωρίον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν συνάξει μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάξεως χωρὶς πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνούμενος,

τούτων συνεχῶς ἐμνήσθην τῶν λόγων, τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου τοὺς τάφους ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πολλῇ μεθ' ἡσυχίας περισκοπούντων, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τοὺς κατοικομένους καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ παραπεμπόντων κατάστασιν. Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν γενναῖον τοῦτον θαυμάζω πατέρα, ὅτι γαληνῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγε, προηγουμένης δὲ καὶ ὁδηγούσης τῆς μακαρίας Δροσίδος, ἧς τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἑτερόν τι μεῖζον ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου κέρδος ἐστὶ καρπώσασθαι. Ὃταν γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας παραδραμόντες κάρνακας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων θήκας ἔλθωμεν, ὑψηλότερον ἡμῖν τὸ φρόνημα γίνεται, εὐτονωτέρα ἡ ψυχὴ, μεῖζων ἢ προθυμία, θερμότερα ἡ πίστις. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα καὶ τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τῶν ἀγίων ἀναλογισώμεθα τούτων, πάλιν ἑτέραν μεῖζονα πρόφασιν ταπεινοφροσύνης εὐρίσκομεν. Ἐάν γὰρ μεγάλα τις ἢ κατωρθῶς, οὐδὲν ἡγήσεται μέγα πεποιηκέναι, αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐκείνων παλαίσμασι κἂν μηδὲν ἢ μέγα καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένος, οὐκ ἀπογνώσεται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, πρὸς ἀρετῆς μεταβολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας τούτων λαβὼν παράκλησιν, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐννοήσας, ὅτι συμβήσεται ποτε καὶ αὐτὸν ἴσως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας καταξιούσης, τοιαῦτα ἄλλεσθαι ἄλματα, καὶ ἀθροὺν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῆναι, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἐκείνης παρρησίας ἐπιτυχεῖν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα πολλῶ πλείονα τούτων ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ φιλοσοφήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν.

106. De Sanctis Martyribus Sermo, PG 50, col. 648.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἀφῆκεν ἡμῖν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὁ Θεός διὰ τοῦτο πάλοι νικήσαντες, οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἄθλους ὑπέμειναν πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου, τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως οὐδέπω ἐπέτυχον, οὐδέπω διὰ σέ καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν σὴν, ἵνα καὶ σὺ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐγνωὼν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον διεγερθῇς.

107. Ibid., col. 648.

Τούτοις μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν βλάβος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναβολῆς γίνεται
 σοὶ δὲ μέγιστον ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τίκτεται.
 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολήφονται, κἂν μὴ νῦν
 ἀπολαμβάνωσιν εἰ δὲ ἐξήρπασεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου νῦν,
 πολλὴν ἂν ἡμῶν παράκλησιν καὶ παρα-
 μυθία ἀπὸ τῶν τάφων τῶν ἁγίων τούτων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 προσγίνεται.

108. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 671,672.

... ταύτην κατέχομεν μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας
 μυρίων οὕσαν ἀγαθῶν θησαυρόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐμερίσατο ὁ
 Θεὸς πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μάρτυρας, τὰς ψυχὰς λαβὼν αὐτὸς
 τὰ σώματά πως ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, ἵνα ἔχωμεν ὑπόμνησιν
 ἀρετῆς διηνεκῶς τὰ ἅγια τούτων ὀστέα.

109. Ibid., col. 672.

ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὅπλα ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ
 καταξιωθὲν αἵμαχθῆναι διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν,
 κἂν ἀπάντων ὦμεν δειλότεροι, πῶς οὐ πολλὴν ἔχομεν
 προθυμίαν, ὥσπερ τινὸς πυρὸς τῆς ὀψεως ταύτης εἰς τὴν
 διάνοιαν ἡμῶν ἐμπιπτούσης, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα
 καλούσης ἡμᾶς;

110. Ibid., col. 672.

Διὰ τοῦτο παρακατέθετο ἡμῖν τὰ σώματα τῶν ἁγίων ὁ
 Θεὸς ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἵνα ἔχωμεν
 ὑπόθεσιν φιλοσοφίας μεγίστης.

111. Ibid., col. 672,673.

... δένδρα ἄκαρπα, ἐνταῦθα λείψανα ἁγίων καὶ ρίζαι
 κάτω πεφυτευμένοι, καὶ τοὺς κλάδους εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 ἀνατείνουσαι. Βούλει καὶ τῶν κλάδων τούτων τὸν
 καρπὸν ἰδεῖν; Ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμούς,
 καὶ εὐθέως ἐπιδείξω σοι φύσιν καρπῶν θαυμαστῶν. Οὐ
 γὰρ ὀπωρῶν, καὶ ἀκροδρύων, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν φθειρομένων
 καὶ ἀπολλυμένων τούτων τῶν κλάδων ὁ καρπός, ἀλλὰ σω-
 μάτων πεκυρωμένων ἱάσις, καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων συγχώρησις,
 κακίας ἀναίρεσις, νοσημάτων ψυχῆς θεραπεία, εὐχὴ ἐκ-
 τενής, παρρησία πρὸς Θεόν, πάντα πνευματικά, καὶ

οὐρανίων γέμοντα ἀγαθῶν.

112. Ibid., col. 673.

Πόσοι γοῦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ σῶμα ἐφυτεύθη τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γῇ, μυρίας ἐτρύγησαν ἰάσεις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας ταύτης θήκης, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέλιπεν ὁ καρπὸς ἐθέρισαν τὰ λήϊα, καὶ οὐκ ἐδαπανήθησαν οἱ σταχύες ἥντλησαν τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ οὐκ ἐκενώθη τὰ νάματα, ἀλλὰ συνεχῆς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιρροή, οὐδέποτε ἐπιλιμπάνουσα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κενουμένου πλεον ἀεὶ παρέχουσα τὸ ἀναβλύζον θαῦμα. Οὐ θαύματα δὲ μόνον ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πείθει. Ἄν τε γὰρ πλούσιος ᾖ, καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆς, καὶ φλεγμαίνουσιν ἔχῃς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ τό μέσον λογισάμενος τοῦ σοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τῆς τούτου περιουσίας, καταστελεῖς εὐθέως τό φύσημα, καὶ τὴν φλεγμονὴν ἀποθέμενος ἀπελεύσῃ πολλὴν ἔχων ὑγίειαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἂν τε πένης καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι νομίσῃς, ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ καταγελάσας τῶν χρημάτων τῶν ἔξωθεν, οὕτως ἀναχωρήσεις πολλῆς σαυτὸν ἐμπλήσας φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἐκπύρραι καὶ ζημίαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπενεχθῶσιν ἰδὼν, ὅτι οὐδέπω τοσαῦτα ἔπαθες, ὅσα ὁ μάρτυς οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος, ἱκανὴν πάλιν λήψῃ, παραμυθίαν ἐντεῦθεν. Εἶδες οἷοι οἱ καρποὶ τῶν ῥιζῶν τούτων; πῶς ἀνάλωτοι; πῶς πνευματικοί; πῶς αὐτῆς ἄπτονται τῆς ψυχῆς;

113. Ibid., col. 673.

Οὗτοι οἱ καρποὶ ἀεὶ τρυγώμενοι ἀεὶ βρύουσι, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπολιμπάνουσι τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν γεωργούς.

114. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 687.

Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τούτους ἀπάσης καταφρονούντας τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ἀπάντων ἀναισθητότερος ᾖ καὶ νωθρότατος, ὑψηλότετον δέξῃ φρόνημα, καὶ καταγελάσῃ τρυφῆς, ὑπερόψῃ χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπιθυμήσῃς τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς καὶ ἐν ἀρρώστιαις ᾖ, εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἀφορμὴν λήψῃ. μεγίστην, τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων παθήματα καὶ πενίαν πιέξῃ, καὶ ὅτι οὐν ἕτερον τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπαχθεῖσων βασάνων βλέπων ἀρκοῦσαν

ἔξεις παραμυθίαν τῶν κατειληφόντων ἁπάντων δεινῶν.

115. Ibid., col. 689.

οἷον εἶχεν ἔνδον θησαυρὸν τὴν κόνιν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν
τέφραν παντὸς χρυσίου τιμιωτέραν, πάντων μύρων
εὐωδεστέραν, πάντων λίθων τιμαλφεστέραν! Ὅσα γὰρ οὐκ
ἰσχύει πλοῦτος καὶ χρυσίον, τσαῦτα ἰσχύει μαρτύρων
λείψανα. Χρυσίον μὲν γὰρ οὔτε νόσον ἀπήλασε πώποτε,
οὔτε θάνατον ἐφυγάδευσε, μαρτύρων δὲ ὅσα ἄμφοτερα
ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων,
τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν.

116. II Homilia, Dicta Postquam Reliquiae Martyrem, Etc.,
PG 63, col. 469.

117. Ibid., col. 469.

118. Ibid., col. 469.

119. Ibid., col. 469.

120. Ibid., col. 469.

121. Homilia In Martyres, PG 50, col. 666.

πῦρ πνέοντα, συνεσταλμένον, συντετριμμένον, νήφοντα,
ἐγρηγορότα, διὰ τῶν κινημάτων τοῦ σώματος τὴν
ἐνδοθεν ἀνακηρύττοντα φιλοσοφίαν.

122. Ibid., col. 666.

123. De S. Droside Martyre, PG 50, col. 689.

Καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἡμεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῆς
παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι δίκαιοι μετὰ ἀκριβείας
ἴσασι φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅτε πάντων ἐξεληθόντων Αἰγύπτου, καὶ
τῶν μὲν χρυσίον, τῶν δὲ ἀργύριον ἐπιφερομένων, ὁ
Μωσῆς ἀντὶ πλούτου παντὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὅσα λαβὼν
ἐκεφέρετο, θησαυρὸν μέγιστον καὶ μυρίων γέμοντα ἀγαθῶν
μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων οἴκαδε.

124. Ibid., col. 691.

Ὁ γὰρ καταγαγὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἰωσήφ, αὐτὸς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀνιόντων προηγεῖτο πάλιν, εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἀλείφων καὶ
τὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδα. Ὁρῶντες γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ
λείψανα πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἴτα ἐντεῦθεν
ἀναμνηστικοί τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπάσης ἐκείνης, καὶ

ἀναλογιζόμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
ἐπεβουλεύθη, ὅτι εἰς λάκκον ἐρρίφθη, ὅτι περὶ τῶν
ἐσχάτων ἐκινδύνευσεν, ὅτι δεσποτήριον ᾤκησε, καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα δὴ πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ εἶτα, ὅτι μετ'
ἐκεῖνα πάντα βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρῶτος,
καὶ τοσούτων κηδεμῶν καὶ προστάτης, ἱκανὰς εἶχον
ἐλπίδας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν ἀεὶ καταλαμβανόντων
αὐτοὺς δεινῶν, παιδευόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὁσῶν τοῦ δικαίου,
ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν πιστευσάντων, καὶ τὴν παρ'
ἐκείνου συμμαχίαν ἀναμεινάντων ἐγκατελείφθη ποτέ.

125. Ibid., col. 691.

Κὰν γὰρ λυπηρὰ τινα καὶ ἀβούλητα μεσολαβῇ τὰς
ὑποσχέσεις, καὶ μεταξὺ παρεμπίπτῃ, τοῦ τε τέλους οὐδέ-
ποτε ἐκκροῦσαι δυνήσεται τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας, ἀλλ' ἐκβήσεται
πάντως ἐκεῖνο τὸ προῤῥηθὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀνωθεν ψῆφον,
λαμπροτέρους ποιοῦν τοὺς μεθ' ὑπομονῆς ἀναμένοντας
τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεσπισθέντα ἅπαντα. Διὰ ταῦτα
περὶ τῶν ὁσῶν αὐτοῦ ἐνετείλατο.

126. In S. Phocam Martyrem, PG 50, col. 699-700.

Χορεύω μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ σκιρτῶ, ἀντὶ λειμώνων
βλέπων αὐτῶν τὸ τρόπαιον, ὅτι ἀντὶ πηγῶν αἷμα ἔρρεον
τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐδαπανήθη, καὶ μνήμη αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην
ἡμέραν νεαρωτέρα γίνεται. Ὡς περ γὰρ τὸν ἥλιον ἀμύ-
χανον σβεσθῆναι, οὕτω καὶ μνήμην μαρτύρων αὐτὸς γὰρ
ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεφάνητο. Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται,
οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθων.

127. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homilia I, PG 50,
col. 582.

THE SEONDARY NOTIONS OF MARTYRDOM

a. Martyrdom of asceticism

1. In Acta Apostolorum Homil. XXIV, PG 60, col. 188.
2. Ibid.
3. In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homilia I, PG 61, col. 388-390. Cf. also Fragmenta In Beatum Job, PG 64, col. 505-656, and Expositionis S. Joannis Chrysostomi In Job, PG 64, col. 503-504.
4. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli Homil. V, PG 50, col. 495, 496, 497.

τοῦ νῦν εἶσιν οἱ τὸν θάνατον αἰτιώμενοι, καὶ τὸ
 παθητὸν τοῦτο σῶμα καὶ φθαρτὸν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι λέγοντες
 αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν; Ἀκουσάτωσαν τῶν Παύλου κατορθω-
 μάτων, καὶ καυέσθωσαν τῆς κονηρᾶς ταύτης διαβολῆς.
 Τί γὰρ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἔβλαψεν ὁ θάνατος; τί δὲ ἡ φθορά
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐνεπόδισεν; Ἐννόησον Παῦλον, καὶ ὄψει
 ὅτι καὶ ὤνησεν ἡμᾶς τὰ μέγιστα τὸ γενέσθαι θνητούς.
 Εἰ γὰρ μὴ θνητὸς ἦν οὗτος, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθη εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον
 δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐδυνήθη, ὁ διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶπεν,
 ὅτι "καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω, νῆ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν,
 ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ" (Α' Κορ. ΙΒ, 31). Πανταχοῦ
 γὰρ ἡμῖν ψυχῆς καὶ προθυμίας δεῖ, καὶ τὸ κωλύον οὐδὲν
 ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τετάχθαι. Οὐχὶ θνητὸς ἦν οὗτος; Οὐχὶ
 ἰδιώτης; οὐχὶ πένης καὶ ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
 ἐργασίας ποιούμενος τὴν τροφήν; οὐχὶ σῶμα εἶχε πάσαις
 ἀνάγκαις ὑποκείμενον φυσικαῖς; Τί οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσε
 γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον, οἷος γέγονεν; Οὐδέν. Μηδεὶς τοί-
 νυν ἀθυμεῖτω πένης, μηδεὶς δυσχεραίνειτω ἰδιώτης, μηδεὶς
 ἀλγείτω τῶν εὐτελῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι, ὅσοι ψυχὴν
 μεμαλακισμένην καὶ διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν ἐκνενευρισμένην.
 Τοῦτο γὰρ γίνεται κώλυμα μόνον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, κακία ψυχῆς,
 καὶ μαλακία γνώμης ταύτης δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν.

5. In Epist. Ad Coloss. Cap. III, Homil. VIII,
PG 62, col. 356.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. In Epist. Ad Hebraeos Cap. VI, Homil. XI,
PG 63, col. 92-93.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. In Joannem Homil. LXXIV al. LXXIII, PG 59, col.
402-404.
13. Ibid.
14. In S. Lucianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 521.

"Ψαλμ. 48, 17-18". Τοιαύτη γὰρ τῆς εὐπορίας ταύτης ἡ φύσις οὗ συμμεθίσταται τοῖς ἔχουσιν, οὐ συναποδημεῖ τοῖς κεκτημένοις, οὐ παρίσταται κρινομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ εὐθύνας ὑπέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου διακόπτεται πάντως πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου κατέλειπεν ἄπιστος ἢ χρησὶς, ἀβέβαιος ἢ ἀπόλαυσίς ἢ κτήσις.

15. Ibid., col. 521.

Ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄσυλος οὗτος ὁ θησαυρός. Πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; Ὁ περὶ τοῦ πλούτου τούτου φιλοσοφῆσας καὶ εἰπὼν, "Ὅτι οὐ συγκαταβήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ὅπισω αὐτοῦ", οὗτος καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης θησαυρῶν, τῶν ἀειμενόντων καὶ μηδέποτε συλωμένων, ἐπαίδευσεν ἡμᾶς οὕτως εἰπὼν "Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα" (Ψαλμ. III, 9). Τί τούτου παραδοξότερον γένοιτ' ἂν; Τὰ συλλεγόμενα ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ τὰ σκορμιζόμενα μένει, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὑποδέχεται, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χειρὸς οὐδεὶς ἀρπάζειν δύναται τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀνθρωπίνοις ἀποτίθεται θησαυροῖς ἔνθα πολλαῖς ὑπόκειται ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς, ἔνθα πολὺς ὁ φθόνος καὶ ἡ βασκανία.

16. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 636.

καὶ τέως εἰς αὐταῖς ἐπλέκετο στέφανος ποῖος δὴ οὗτος; Ὁ
τῆς τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων ὑπεροφίας.

17. Ibid., col. 636.
MT 19:29.

18. In Martyres Egyptios, PG 50, col. 697.

μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν διηγήματα, ἃ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων
διέξεισι λέγων ὁ Παῦλος "Περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰ-
γείοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχού-
μενοι, ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος ἐν ἐρημίαις κλανώμενοι
καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς"
(Εβρ. II, 37-38). Ταῦτα καὶ ἐκὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ἐγένετο
τῆς ἡμετέρας.

19. Ibid., col. 697, 698.

Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι καὶ νῦν
καὶ πάλαι, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἅπαντες οἱ τῷ θεῷ
φίλοι τῷ στυγνῷ καὶ ἐπιμόχθῳ καὶ μυρίων γέμοντι δεινῶν
ἐκληρώθησαν βίῳ, μὴ τὸν ὑγρὸν καὶ διαλελημένον καὶ
τὸν ἀνέσεως γέμοντα διώκωμεν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπίμοχθον,
τὸν ἐπίπονον, τὸν θλίψει ἔχοντα καὶ ταλαιπωρίας.

20. Ibid., col. 698.

"Ὡςπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον δι' ὕπνου καὶ ῥα-
θυμίας καὶ τρυφῆς τῶν στεφάνων ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸν
στρατιώτην τῶν τροπαίων, οὐδὲ τὸν κυβερνήτην τοῦ
λιμένους οὐδὲ τὸν γηπόνον τῆς ἄλλω πεπληρωμένης...

21. Ibid., col. 698.

οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν πιστὸν διὰ ῥαθυμίας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον
διαγαγόντα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν.

22. Ibid., col. 698.

οὐρανὸς προκειμένος ἥ, καὶ ἀγγέλων τιμαί, καὶ ζωὴ
πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσα, καὶ ἡ μετ' ἀγγέλων διατριβή, καὶ τὰ
ἀγαθὰ, ἃ μὴδὲ ἐννοῆσαι ἢ εἰπεῖν δυνατόν, προσδοκᾷ
διὰ ῥαθυμίας καὶ ῥαστώνης καὶ διαλελυμένης ψυχῆς
αὐτῶν ἐπιτεύξεσθαι, καὶ γῇ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτὰ τοῖς βιωτι-
κοῖς σπουδῆς ἀξιοῦν.

23. In Isaiam Cap. I, PG 56, col. 18-20.
24. Expositio In Psalmum XLIX, PG 55, col. 247-248.
Cf also Ibid., Ps. 49:9-11 or 50:9-11.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
Cf. also Ibid., Ps. 49:13 or 50:13; Lev. 7:16.
27. Adversus Judaeos VII, PG 48, col. 920-921.
Cf. Also Ibid. Isaiah 1:15; Ps. 49:9,16, 20, or 50:9,16,20.
28. Expositio In Psalmum CVIII, PG 55, col. 264.
29. Expositio In Psalmum XLIX, PG 55, col. 247-248.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Expositio In Psalmum CL, PG 55, 497-498.
36. Expositio In Psalmum CXV, PG 55, col. 327.
Cf. also Expositio In Psalmum CXVII, PG 55, col. 335.
37. In Cap. I Genes. Homil. IX, PG 53, col. 80-81.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
Cf. also Ibid., Isaiah 66:2 and Matthew 11:29.
41. De S. Babyla Contra Julianum Et Gentiles, PG 50, col. 548,549.

ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ μαθητοῦ μο-
 χηρίας καὶ δυσπραγίας λαμπρότεροι γίνονται, καθαρὰν
 ἀθυρίας τὴν ἐκ τῆς εὐδοκιμήσεως ἔχουσιν ἡδονήν. Διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Κορινθίους ἔλεγεν" Εὐχόμεθα
 δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν κοιτῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵνα ἡμεῖς δοκιμοί

φανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς τὸ καλὸν ποιῆτε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι ᾤμεν" (Β' Κορ. Ι3,7). Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ θαυμαστῷ τότε ποθεινότερον ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου μισθῶν ἢ τοῦ μαθητοῦ σωτηρία, καὶ τὸ σωφρονήσαντα ἀποστερηῆσαι τούτων τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐμπεσεῖν. Οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων βούλονται πλέκεσθαι συμφορῶν εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐ βούλονται, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν τρις οἰκείους συμβαινόντων κακῶν.

42. Ibid., col. 562.
43. In Matthaeum Homil. XVI, PG 57, col. 249-251.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. In Epist. II Ad Cor. Homil. V, PG 61, col. 433-434.
- 46a. Expositio In Psalmum CXL, PG 55, col. 430-433.
47. Expositio In Psammum CXL, PG 55, col. 430-433.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Expositio In Psalmum IV, PG 55, col. 53,
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. In Matthaeum Homil. XVI, PG 57, col. 249-251.
57. Ibid.
58. In S. Romanum Martyrem I., PG 50, col. 607.
59. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli Homil. III, PG 50, col. 483.
60. Ibid., col. 483.

61. Ibid., col. 483. MT 5:44-45.

62. Ibid., col. 483.

Καὶ ὡς ἂν τις διατεθείη πατήρ περὶ παῖδα φρενίτιδι κατεχόμενον (ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ὑβρίζηται καὶ λακτίζῃ χαλεπῶς ὁ κάμνων, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐλεεῖ καὶ δακρύει), οὕτω κάκεινος τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ταῦτα ἐπαγόντων αὐτῷ τὴν νόσον στοχαζόμενος, πρὸς πλείονα κηδεμονίαν διανίστατο. Ἄκουσον γοῦν αὐτοῦ πῶς ἡμέρως πῶς συμπαθητικῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν διαλέγεται, τῶν πεντάκις αὐτὸν μαστιγώσαντων, τῶν καταλευσάντων, τῶν δησάντων τῶν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ διψώντων, καὶ διασκάσασθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιθυμούντων αὐτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν, "Μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐταῖς", φησὶν, "ὅτι ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν" (Ρωμ. ΙΟ, 2).

63. Ibid., col. 486.

Καὶ ὢν μέγας, ἐν τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, φλογὸς πάσης αφοδρότερος ἦν καὶ καθάπερ σίδηρος εἰς πῦρ ἐμπεσὼν, ὅλος γίνεται πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ πυρὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀναφθεῖς, ὅλος γέγονεν ἀγάπη.

64. Ibid., col. 486.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλήρωμα αὐτὴν ἐκάλει νόμου, καὶ σύνδεσμον τελειότητος, καὶ μητέρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν πάντων, καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἀρετῆς, διὸ καὶ ἔλεγε "Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς" (Α' Τιμ. Ι, 5).

65. Ibid., col. 486.

καὶ πάλιν, "Τὸ γὰρ, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν" (Ρωμ. Ι3, 9). Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν Παῦλον ζηλώσωμεν καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐντεῦθεν τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο.

66. Ibid., col. 486.

Μὴ γὰρ μοι τοὺς νεκροὺς εἶπης, οὓς ἀνέστησε, μηδὲ τοὺς λεπρούς, οὓς ἐκάθηρεν οὐδὲν τούτων ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιζητήσει παρὰ σου. Ἥτῃσαι τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν Παύλου, καὶ τὸν

στέφανον ἕξεις ἀπηρτισμένον.

67. Ibid., col. 486-488.
68. IV Homilia Adversus Eos Qui Non Adfuerant, Etc., PG 63, col. 478.
69. Ibid., col. 478.
70. Ibid., col. 479.
71. Ibid., col. 479.
72. Ibid., col. 480.
73. Ibid., col. 482.
74. Ibid., ocl. 483.
75. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. I, PG 50, col. 477.
76. Ibid., col. 476.
77. Ibid., col. 473.
78. Ibid., col. 474.
79. Ibid., col. 474.
80. Ibid., ocl. 475, 476.
81. Ibid., col. 477.
82. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli II, PG 50, col. 479.
83. Ibid., col. 479.
84. Ibid., ocl. 479.
85. Ibid., col. 480.
86. Ibid., col. 480.
87. Ibid., col. 480.
88. Ibid., col. 480.
89. Ibid., col. 481.
90. Ibid., col. 481, 482.
91. Ibid., col. 482.
92. De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Homil. III, PG 50, col. 485.
93. Ibid., col. 485.
94. Ibid., col. 486.

95. In S. Estathium Antiochenum, PG 50, col. 599,600.
96. In Diodorum Tarsenum, PG 52, col. 761-766.
97. Ibid. col. 764.

b. Martyrdom of virginity

1. De Sancta Thecla Martyre, PG 50, col. 745.
2. Ibid., col. 745.
3. Ibid., col. 745.
4. Ibid., col. 748.
5. Ibid., col. 746.
6. Ibid., col. 746.
7. Ibid., col. 746.
8. Ibid., col. 746.
9. Ibid., col. 745-746.
10. Ibid., col. 746.
11. Ibid., col. 747.
12. Ibid., col. 748.
13. Ibid., col. 746,747.
14. Ibid., col. 747.
15. Ibid., col. 747.
16. Ibid., col. 747,748; (Ps. 22:30).
17. Ibid., col. 748.
18. Ibid., col. 748.
19. Ibid., col. 748; Ps. 62:9.
20. Ibid., col. 748.
21. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homil. I, PG 50, col. 597.
22. Ibid., col. 582.
23. Ibid., col. 582.

24. Ibid., col. 579.
25. De SS. Bernice Et Prosdoce, PG 50, col. 633.
26. Ibid., col. 635.
27. In Secundum Adventum Jesu Christi, PG 61, col. 776 .
spurium.
28. De S. Pelagia Virgine Et Martyre Homil. I, PG 50,
col. 579.

c. Martyrdom by association

1. Martyrdom by service.

1. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 533.
2. Ibid., col. 533.
3. Ibid., col. 533, 534.
4. Ibid., col. 534.
5. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 576.

2. Martyrdom by imitation

1. De S. Hieromartyre Babyla, PG 50, col. 533.
2. Ibid., col. 534.
3. Ibid., col. 534.
4. Ibid., col. 534.
5. Ibid., col. 534.
6. Ibid., col. 534.
7. In Juventium Et Maximinum Martyres, PG 50, col. 574.
8. Ibid., col. 574.
9. Ibid., col. 575.
10. In S. Julianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 672.
11. Homilia In Martyres, PG 50, col. 661, 662, 663.

12. Ibid., col. 663.
13. In S. Barlaamum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 675.
14. Ibid., col. 675,676.
15. Ibid., col. 676.
16. Ibid., col. 677.
17. Ibid., col. 677; Eph. 6:12.
18. Ibid., col. 677.
19. Ibid., col. 677.
20. Ibid., col. 677.
21. Ibid., col. 682.
22. In S. Lucianum Martyrem, PG 50, col. 522.
23. Ibid., col. 522.
24. Ibid., col. 522.
25. De Sanctis Martyribus, PG 50, col. 712.
26. Ibid., col. 712.
27. De Maccabaeis Homil. III, PG 50, col. 627.
28. In S. Phocam Martyrem, PG 50, col. 699-701.
29. Ibid.,

“Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον βλέπων, τὸ μὲν ἄστρον
 παιδρότερον οὐ ποιεῖ, τὰ δὲ οἰκεῖα ὄμματα καταναγάζει,
 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ μάρτυρα τιμῶν, ἐκεῖνον λαμπρότερον
 οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ
 φωτός ἐπισπᾶται.

3. Martyrdom by word

1. In S. Romanum Martyrem II, PG 50, col. 613,614.
2. Ibid., col. 614.
3. Ibid., col. 614.
4. Ibid., col. 614.
5. Ibid., col. 614.

6. Ibid., col. 614.
7. Ibid., col. 614.
8. Ibid., col. 614.
9. Ibid., col. 614.
10. Ibid., col. 615.
Cf. Ibid., col. 614, I Cor. 12:11.
Cf. Ibid., col. 615, Jer. 31:34.
Cf. Ibid., col. 615, Rom. 14:11.
11. Ibid., col. 615.
12. Ibid., col. 616.
13. Ibid., col. 618.
14. In Ascensionem D.N.J.C. Et In Princip. Act II,
PG 52, col. 777-778.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts

Loukakis, Constantine. The Works of St. John Chrysostom.
vol. v. Athens, 1970.

Migne, Jaques Paul (ed.). S.P.N. Joannis Chrysostomi,
Opera Omnia Quae Exstant, Patrologiae Graeca. vol.
XLVII-LXIV. Paris, 1857-1866.

Διώτης, Ιωάννης, ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ, ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ
ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΕΡΓΑ. ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ "ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΟΥ", Athens,
1974.

Studies

Altaner, B. Patrology. Nelson, Edinburgh-London, 1960.

Attwater, Donald. St. John Chrysostom Pastor and Preacher.
The Catholic Book Club, London, 1960.

Bardenhewer, Otto. Patrology: The Lives And Works Of
The Fathers Of The Church. St. Louis, MO. 1908.

Baur, Chrysostomus Dom. John Chrysostom And His Time,
Volume I and II. Sands and Co. Publishers, London,
1959 and 1960.

Bonner, Gerald. "Martyrdom: its place in the Church",
Sobornost: incorporating Eastern Churches Review.
vol. 5, number 2, London, 1983, pp. 6-21.

Brown, Peter. Society And The Holy In Late Antiquity.
Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1982.

Brown, Peter. The Cult of The Saints. University of
Chicago, SCM Press, 1981.

Bush, R. Wheeler. The Life and Times of Chrysostom.
The Religious Tract Society, London, 1885.

Campanhausen, Hans Von. The Fathers of The Greek Church.
London, 1963.

Cayre, F. Manual of Patrology And History of Theology,
vol. I. Paris, 1963.

Cross, F.L. (ed.). The Oxford Dictionary of The
Christian Church. London, 1957.

Danielou, Jean. Origen. Sheed and Ward, London, 1955.

- Donaldson, James, Roberts, Alexander, (ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers:Translations of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, vol. vii. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1975.
- Dragas, G. D. "St. John Chrysostom's doctrine of God's Providence", in Ekklesiastikos Pharos, vol. 57, 1975, pp. 375-406.
- Easton, Burton Scott. The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. Cambridge, 1934.
- Farrar, Frederic W. Lives of The Fathers: Sketches of Church History in Biography, vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1889.
- Fouyas, Methodius (now Archbishop of Thyateira). The Social Message of St. John Chrysostom. Athens, 1968.
- Frend, W.H.C. Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus. Oxford, 1965.
- Jackson, F,J, Foakes. The History of The Christian Church From The Earliest Times To A.D. 461. London, 1962.
- James, Montague Rhodes. The Apocryphal New Testament. Oxford, 1924.
- Kelly, J.N.D. Early Christian Doctrines. Harper and Row, Publishers, New York, 1978.
- Musurillo, Herbert. The Acts of The Christian Marytrs. Oxford, 1972.
- Quasten, Johannes. Patrology. vol. i-iii. Spectrum Publishers, Utrecht, Antwerp, 1950, ,953, 1960.
- Owen, E.C. Some Authentic Acts of The Early Martyrs. London, 1933.
- Shcaff, Philip (ed.). A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church, vol. x, xii, xiii, xiv. The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1888, 1889, 1890. (NPNF).
- Sellers, R.V. Eustathius of Antioch and His Place In The History of Early Christian Doctrine. Cambridge, 1927.
- Streeter, Burnett Hillman. The Primitive Church Studied With Special Reference To The Origins of The Christian Ministry. Macmillan And Co., Limited, 1929.
- Smith, William, Wace, Henry. A Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. i, ii, iii, iv. London, 1877, 1880, 1882, 1887.

Torrance, Thomas F. The Incarnation, Ecumenical Studies
in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, A.D. 381.
The Handsel Press, 1981.

Wace, Henry, Piercy, William (ed.). A Dictionary of
Christian Biography And Literature (in one volume),
London, 1911.

